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26 April 1982

## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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SUNDAY STROLL TURNS UP PROFITEERING, ODP EFFICIENCY

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 24 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by P. Almeida]

[Text] Writing an article on Sunday is not an easy task, since nearly all sectors of activity are at a standstill to provide rest for both workers and machines so that they can prepare for the following day's bustle of activity.

Even if one travels from one end to the other of a city as big as Luanda, it is not always easy to find a plausible topic for an article.

If we went to Luanda Island or Corimba to describe what happens there on Sunday, we would almost be describing the daily routine. It is so trite for a newspaper to say that many automobiles, both passenger cars and trucks bearing the acronym of some state enterprise or ministry, are to be seen parked there or, crammed full of children and adults in excess of the allowed capacity, traveling at breakneck speed down the main arteries leading to the beaches.

It would certainly do little to attract people's attention if one reported on traffic accidents and their disastrous results as far as national property is concerned. Talking about the new state-owned vehicles abandoned on the public thoroughfare after the inevitable and predictable weekend collision, or about the vessels lined up outside the commercial port awaiting their turn to be unloaded, or about the buses that pass up bus stops so they will not be invaded by a public exasperated by the long wait under the blazing rays of the sun--none of that would any longer attract anyone's attention.

It would be equally trite to describe in evaluative terms the minuscule bathing suits worn by our young girls on summer vacation or even our pseudoathletes, who take advantage of the tranquillity of such an agreeable spot for rest as the beach to play soccer along the water's edge, hurling sand into the eyes of those taking advantage of the cool air to enjoy a few good moments of physical and mental relaxation.

What we have said so far is nothing new to anyone. It concerns what can be seen every Sunday and even on ordinary weekdays.



But on Sunday, just because it is Sunday, the city presents a different face, characterized by a slight lull in the bustle and vibrant noise. Some citizens take advantage of the day to tidy up the house, visit relatives or friends, bring their study materials up to date, go to the market, and so on.

And speaking of markets, there is a subject for a newspaper report.

Last Sunday I went to the Sao Paulo market at about 1000 hours. One feature struck my eye: the vegetable, fruit, and fish stalls were empty. Neither the products to be sold nor the vendors were to be seen. I thought to myself that I had gotten to the market too early.

At home, I did not have a single slice of tomato or onion--those essential ingredients for everyday meals. So I thought it would be a good idea to wait until the products I wanted to buy were put on sale.

While waiting, I wandered around the stalls, looking at the exorbitant prices on the mounds of grapefruit, lemons, dried fish, okra, bananas and green apples, eggplant and, in short, all kinds of items which I had bought days before and which I was therefore not interested in purchasing now.

At about 1100 hours, I decided to take a chance and ask a market woman, elderly but with a friendly face, where I could find tomatoes and onions. I had picked the right person, because she answered promptly and simply by telling me where I could easily obtain them. I immediately bought two plastic bags and left the enclosure, heading into the Sambizanga district.

About 200 meters away from the Sao Paulo market, and inside the Sambizanga district, I discovered the reason why the items in question were not to be found in the official sales enclosure at that hour.

Hundreds of market women and street peddlers were displaying their products on plastic bags placed on the ground. They stretched from the area known as Santo Rosa to the vicinity of the former Travassos and Jorge store. In all, it was a distance of over 300 meters.

Everything was there. Tomatoes, onions, apples, oranges, cornmeal and "bombo" meal, braziers, nails, filtered and nonfiltered cigarettes, tubes of Patex glue, loose or commercially packaged biscuits, charcoal, soap, toilet soap, steel wool (scrub cloths), fine flour (manioc) and homemade flour, and even dried and fresh (and still frozen) fish. Everything was on display to tempt buyers. Seeing it was easy. The most difficult part was to buy, because the prices were "deadly," as the common saying goes.

I had to choose between buying at exorbitant prices or going home emptyhanded and staring at the walls. But good fortune was knocking at my door. Something was about to happen that the speculators had not counted on and that I myself could not have foreseen.

Members of the People's Defense Organization [ODP] were alerted to the irregularity. Because the sellers displaying their products there were certainly

the same ones who should have been occupying the empty stalls in the market, and the only reason they were not at the market was that they preferred to engage in inordinate speculation far from the reach of the law.

Noticing that ODP members were present, the speculators were preparing to flee when they were ordered to sell the products they had in their voluminous sacks.

Against their will and under constant surveillance by the people's forces, the lovers of easy profit continued throughout the morning to sell the products from their heavy baggage at more reasonable prices.

I benefited from the presence of the ODP's fighters, because with the 500 kwanzas I had in my pocket, I was able to buy about 2 kilograms of ripe salad tomatoes, 2 kilograms of onions, 1.5 kilograms of green peppers, 3 kilograms of bananas, .5 kilogram of lemons, and 30 centimeters of steel wool.

Like me, many other buyers had the rare opportunity to acquire food items and to do so at reasonable prices away from the usual places for sales to the public.

As I was walking home, I heard many common citizens saying things like the following: "If they keep this up, we will get rid of the speculators"; "With honest and incorrupt inspectors, the profiteers' days are numbered"; "The police must make their activities felt by the lovers of easy profit"; "If we combat speculation and profiteering effectively, honest workers will have an easier life"; and so on.

And so I conclude this newspaper report, recalling that my Sunday morning ended on a happy note as I found myself back home loaded down with items acquired at reasonable prices, something that had not happened for a long time.

11798

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NATIONAL MEDIA SEMINAR TO BE HELD IN MAY

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 20 Mar 82 p 1

[Excerpt] Angolan journalists and other workers in the national media are finally going to see the fulfillment of one of their deepest aspirations--one that dates back many years. It is the First National Media Seminar, and it will be held in Luanda from 20 to 23 May this year.

The official announcement of that important meeting by media professionals--for which preparations were begun last 22 February--was made at nightfall yesterday at the Anibal de Melo Printing Center by Ambrosio Lukoki, Central Committee secretary for the ideological sphere.

In his statement, which was read before the National Preparatory Committee for the Seminar and representatives of the national and foreign media, that member of the Politburo said that the First National Media Seminar is being held as the result of a higher decision by the MPLA-Labor Party that was reached during the first special congress.

According to his statement, the First National Media Seminar is to take stock of all the work done by the mass media during the 6 years of national independence and indicate new methods of action that will bring the work assigned to that sector to a successful conclusion.

The fact is that national information is one of the sectors of national life most fully immersed in the class struggle in this country. As Ambrosio Lukoki said, "information is one of the areas of human activity reflecting most clearly, and sometimes even violently, the social relations existing in any community, the internal organization of classes, and the social, political, and economic model--in short, the configuration of power."

In our country, the information sector has been the one most vulnerable to all the phenomena of a short-term nature. It is the sector most criticized at all social levels. National information is also that sphere of the country's political life whose structure fluctuates the most, and that is due to its extreme importance in the struggle we are engaged in for the complete liberation of the Angolan people, the reassertion of their personality, and the reconquest of their cultural values.

The problems presenting themselves at the level of Angolan information are of various kinds. There are problems of a short-term nature, there are problems of organization, and there are problems reflecting the need for a clear definition of what information is, of what its role is in the revolution, and of its real significance in the context of class struggle both inside and outside the country.

The mass media have been struggling with those problems for years. The professionals and other workers in information have also been expressing for years the imperative need to hold a national media seminar at which the problems facing that sector could be discussed. Today, as the Central Committee secretary for the ideological sphere said, the minimum conditions exist for implementing the decision made at the first special congress. That decision is in keeping with the aspirations of all the workers in this sector.

11798

CSO: 4742/261

IMPORTANCE OF JOURNALIST'S ROLE, RIGHTS, DUTIES STRESSED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 26 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by Joao Serra: "The Craft of Writing"]

[Text] The craft of writing daily in a newspaper is a permanent source of sympathies or enmities, stimuli or annoyances, depending upon the nature and critical scope of that which is chosen for coverage in print.

This is certainly nothing new to anybody. The journalist is a man who finds it difficult to get along well with everybody because it is difficult simultaneously to please both the Greeks and the Trojans when this powerful critical element, represented by the printed columns in the press, is handled regularly. Nobody likes to see his incompetence, error, or corruption depicted in public.

The journalist is an active agent in denouncing aberrations which at each particular moment affect the various public facets of political, economic, and social life of the society in which he lives. He plays a permanently critical role with respect to the medium that surrounds him, pointing out errors and spreading ideas which can stimulate discussion on the major national objectives.

For all of these reasons, the journalist finds it difficult to surround himself exclusively with admirers and sympathizers although this in general constitutes his best reward.

The journalist sometimes explodes with enthusiasm in covering a certain topic whose importance or timeliness galvanizes him. He becomes uneasy, aggressive, and impertinent. Those who, for properly justified reasons, are the targets of this fierce fusillade obviously do not like that sort of thing. But in journalism it is frequently preferable to use the cold and impenitent blade of the bayonet rather than the stiletto of irony.

By a strange quirk of the human temperament, nobody likes to be criticized in public even though the journalistic statement may be clear, indisputable, and beyond doubt. In preparing the autopsy of a certain work sector, in raising one or the other problem which at a certain point can constitute public harm, the professional member of the press is performing one of his most significant functions. Mass communications, in terms of their various facets, include that professional obligation which, in the final analysis, represents a national necessity.



But there are many people who do not like to see their blemishes spread out in the newspaper. Their line of reasoning is generally simple: They confuse national limitations, properly justified by the difficulties of national reconstruction, with unjustifiable errors, incompetence, or lack of professional interest.

And, quite obviously, they become irritated when the journalist takes the initiative in raising awkward questions which, having lain dormant for a long time, suddenly become the target of public discussion--and that implies the placement of responsibilities. After all, who is the journalist to raise technical problems which are sometimes highly specialized, in other words, subject matter which he generally does not have a demand of?

Lay persons forget that for the journalist there are no limits to his actions. He is generally likely to take up any type of questions and matters because, when the specific complexity of each topic exceeds his information providing capacity, he can always start collecting data from the proper sectors. Knowing how to ask questions is one of the first things he learns in journalism.

The journalist certainly is not an encyclopedia. But if he were to have to confine himself to writing only about that which he is familiar with on the basis of a certain level of specialization, then most of the newspaper pages would come out blank. There are fears of rather specialized activity which obviously imply special care in the pertinent approach; but it is no less true that, by virtue of the general character of journalism itself, there are practically no journalistically reserved questions existing as hunting preserves only for specialists.

The men in charge of the various information organs daily receive complaints deriving from one or the other matter raised by journalists.

No journalist would have the courage to tell a factory manager how to organize technical questions in his enterprise. Why do so many people feel that they should tell the journalists how to do their job?

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CSO: 4742/267



POLITICAL PROPAGANDA SEEN NEEDING REINFORCEMENT IN ARMY RANKS

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 26 Mar 82 p 5

[Dispatch by Sara Fialho: "Armed Forces Agitation and Propaganda Methodology Meeting"]

[Text] Huila--The Fifth Methodology Meeting of the Agitation and Propaganda Department, National Political Directorate, FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola], was held in Lubango under the slogan "By Improving Discipline and Vigilance, We Are Stepping Up the Ideological Struggle to Enhance Combat Readiness in the FAPLA"; the meeting was chaired by Maj Bornito de Sousa, deputy chief, National Political Directorate, FAPLA.

Here are the basic objectives of this Fifth Methodology Meeting: to review the activities carried out by the Agitation and Propaganda Department during the 1981-1982 combat, operational, and political training year; to analyze and exchange work experience developed for the purpose of perfecting the process of instruction, to enhance combat readiness, and to consolidate military discipline; to look forward to the main tasks of the department for the special period of combat, operational, and political training for officers, sergeants, enlisted men, and sailors of the FAPLA; and to turn over the material study base as well as to present the main methodological indications for this special period of time.

Vitor Makulo, chief, Political Directorate, Fifth Military Region, addressed the opening ceremony and welcomed all those present in the name of the fightingmen stationed in this province. He noted that "this event expresses the determination to outline for us the successes achieved in the combat operations against the aggressor forces of imperialism." He emphasized in general terms that the agitation and propaganda effort, by virtue of its content, represents a sphere of special importance in the political-ideological education of FAPLA fightingmen. And that importance--he added--is all the greater, the weaker and more defective is the method and form of inculcating in FAPLA fightingmen our country's socialist convictions, the assurance of a high degree of educational influence which guarantees the positive accomplishment of the task of operational, combat, and political training, as well as the continuous strengthening of military discipline--in other words, decisive factors in the maintenance of a high level of combat readiness and capability consonant with the requirements of this current phase.

The opening address at the seminar was delivered by Huila assistant party coordinator Domingos Jose. He said that, at a moment when the South African racists in the pay of imperialism "try to destabilize our territory politically and economically, every fightingman must be a most bitter defender of the ideology of the MPLA-Labor Party."

"It is important for everybody to be a good agitator and propagandist so as to mobilize every soldier, every citizen, in the defense of territorial integrity, in keeping with the legacy left to us by our Immortal Guide, Comrade President Dr Agostinho Neto."

"Our propaganda," he said further on, "must be geared toward the revolutionary conquest of our people, something which for example does not happen in the case of the propaganda of the capitalist countries where that effort is geared toward the ruling class, the bourgeoisie, for the purpose of defending its own interests."

In conclusion, the Huila assistant party coordinator recalled that it is a good idea for every fightingman conscientiously to understand the just reason for the defense of the fatherland. "We all know perfectly well that, to increase our combat readiness, we will have to improve our discipline and our vigilance and we will have to step up our ideological struggle until such time as the enemy holds not a single square foot of our land. We must step up our efforts to improve the morale of our fightingmen."

The opening of this Fifth Methodological Seminar of the Agitation and Propaganda Department, DPN [National Political Directorate], of the FAPLA was attended, among other personalities from the national army, by Tany Narciso, representing the DIP [Department of Information and Propaganda] of the MPLA-Labor Party; Jose Maria, first provincial secretary, Party Youth; Olga Chaves, provincial coordinator, OMA [Organization of Angolan Women]; and Cuban and Soviet advisors.

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CSO: 4742/267

ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF BUILDINGS FOSTERS PROFITEERING

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 24 Mar 82 p 2

[Commentary by Joao Serra]

[Text] Some of the continuing difficulties in commercial distribution in Luanda result from the lack of an efficient network of sales outlets, a lack that is due to some extent to the lack of appropriate physical structures for that purpose.

What this means is that the state retail sector, subject from the start to a frequently scant supply of goods, has become incapable of assuming a predominant role in making products available even when a relative abundance of items for distribution could benefit the consumer if supplies were provided efficiently at fair prices.

The problem therefore lies in the indiscriminate occupation to which most of the city's small or large commercial establishments have been subjected. Those establishments today, by practicing a system of what amounts to small-scale sales and engaging in all kinds of profiteering that only help to sabotage the national economy, have hardly any usefulness in insuring the regular and organized provision of essential items for the population.

A network of fruit shops and fish markets used to exist in Luanda, and in the current phase of the country's commercial organization, they could again take on a degree of importance in the distribution plan for fish, fruit, and vegetables. But how many of those fish markets and fruit shops still devote themselves regularly to the activities for which they were designed?

Today it has become usual to see establishments of this or that kind which, for the most diverse reasons, have been inexplicably converted to other purposes. There are barber shops that have been transformed into rudimentary tailor shops, and no one knows what happened to all their specialized equipment. Large commercial establishments in the downtown area have suddenly become collective bedrooms of some kind to make up for the shortage of more suitable housing. Shoe stores have been turned into small tobacco shops with empty shelves, and Patex glue is sold alongside decks of cards, homemade caps, automobile tools, books and magazines from the strangest sources, and so on.

But the most common feature shared by the majority of those establishments is the uselessness of most of the merchandise they have for sale, their exorbitant prices, and the double purpose they serve as commercial establishments and residences.

What this means, putting it briefly, is that the commercial infrastructure is in the hands of opportunists who have appropriated it illegally and use it for purposes that are improper, uncontrolled, and many times reprehensible. On the other hand, the state-owned commercial sector is struggling with the lack of outlets and many times must turn to the private sector to distribute certain goods with no guarantee of the latter's fitness to do so. In short, it is a big nuisance.

And that is why it is urgent to take steps against such a wave of indiscipline, anarchy, and opportunism. First of all, because a commercial establishment is not a place to live, and proof of this can be seen in the fact that millions of Angolans live in unsuitable conditions but do not need to occupy stores because of it.

In the second place, it seems certain that most of those establishments are illegal and have no documents permitting them to engage in any kind of commercial activity, so it would be relatively easy to expropriate them so that they could be used, as required, for more just and controlled purposes and objectives.

The indiscriminate takeover of the structure of commercial establishments has already gone too far. Now more than ever, and in keeping with the real needs of the state sector, it is necessary to have the courage to proceed with the eviction of their occupants.

Occupying a commercial establishment in the lower town improperly, paying no rent, and using it simultaneously as a bedroom and as a base for the most varied kinds of profiteering is too simple and easy. And so it is necessary to regulate that problem, which is already beginning to create inconvenience for the regional economy.

Away with the profiteers!

Down with opportunism!

Let Luanda's commercial infrastructure be used only for honest trade and primarily as a network in support of the state commercial sector.

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## ANGOLA

### BRIEFS

NEW VISA TAXES--In a communique received at our offices, the Angola Directorate of Emigration and Frontiers [DEFA] announces to all national and foreign citizens that the 500-kwanza tax that is collected in national currency in connection with exit and entry visas, as well as the tax collected for alien, co-operant, and resident registration cards, will be converted into national reconstruction stamp taxes effective 1 April 1982. Payment of that tax, which will also be increased by 10 kwanzas in national reconstruction stamps to cover the cost of the application form for authorization to enter or leave the country and of the alien registration form, must be evidenced by gluing the appropriate stamps to the upper part of the above-mentioned forms. The communique also says that in the case of the applications for group visas that are submitted by firms such as Cabinda Gulf Oil and other firms in the petroleum industry and by maritime navigation firms, which routinely request exit or entry visas by means of specially prepared lists containing sometimes as many as 60 or 70 names, the said lists submitted to the DEFA by those firms must be accompanied by Form B "Revenue Receipts," which is supplied by the Ministry of Finance. Form B must be duly stamped and signed by the official entity collecting the tax charged for visa applications. [Excerpt] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 20 Mar 82 p 2] 11798

CSO: 4742/261



BENINESE, SOVIET FRIENDSHIP ADDRESSES

Political Bureau Member Azonhiho's Speech

Cotonou EHUZU in French 5 Feb 82 pp 1, 3, 5

[Article: "Thursday 4 February 1982, Soviet-Beninese Friendship Evening: Doing Everything Possible To Strengthen the Ties of Friendship Between the Soviet and Beninese Peoples"]

[Text] The Soviet Cultural Center served as the setting yesterday for Soviet-Beninese Friendship Evening.

The attendance of several Central Committee members, as well as a large crowd of Beninese Revolution activists, men and women, was noted at this ceremony expressing friendship and solidarity between our two peoples.

Comrade Martin Dohou Azonhiho, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of our avant-garde party, the People's Revolution Party of Benin, and minister of information and propaganda, headed the Beninese party and state delegation at this occasion. In his address he was pleased to mention the ties of cooperation uniting our two peoples and our two states, and then to express the desire that the efforts of our two states will contribute to the preservation of peace in the world.

For his part, His Excellency Mr Vitaly Agapov, ambassador of the USSR in Benin, emphasized the contribution of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to understanding and peace among peoples.

[Azonhiho speech:] Comrade members of the Central Committee of the People's Revolution Party of Benin,

Comrade members of the National Executive Council,

Your Excellency, ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the People's Republic of Benin,



Comrade militants, men and women, of the Beninese Revolution:

For me it is a pleasant duty and a privilege to perform a mission of active solidarity and friendship between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of Benin.

That mission, which is the mission of our avant-garde party, the party of the masses and the exploited and oppressed socio-occupational layers and categories of society, is taking concrete form today thanks to the tireless efforts of the high-level leaders of our two countries, the USSR and the People's Republic of Benin.

#### Fruitful Cooperation

These efforts which are so constructive, efforts in the framework of the fruitful cooperation between our two parties, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the People's Revolution Party of Benin, and between our two revolutionary states, have made it possible to win decisive victories which are inscribed on the glorious pages of our joint struggle for a world of justice, peace, genuine independence, and social progress.

You should recall that cooperation between the People's Republic of Benin and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics dates from the 1960's.

But with the start of the revolutionary process of 26 October 1972, genuine cooperation was instituted between our two countries with the signing of several agreements, which are:

1. An economic and technical cooperation agreement in April 1974.
2. An agreement relating to air transport in December 1975.
3. A consular convention in December 1976.
4. A cooperation agreement in the area of fishing and the contract concerning mining exploration in January 1977.
5. An agreement in the area of television and radio broadcasting in August 1977.
6. A protocol in the area of trade representation in September 1978.
7. A protocol concerning cultural and scientific cooperation between the People's Republic of Benin and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for 1978-1979, in December 1978.

The diligent implementation of these different agreements has given rise to a series of actions in the political and economic area as well as the sociocultural area.

Thus, exchanges of delegations, high-level reciprocal visits, and support activities of all kinds have come to highlight and vitalize the good relations between the People's Republic of Benin and the USSR.

Among other things, the work accomplished in the context of mining exploration among Beninese and Soviet experts has proved to be of a high quality and has led to satisfying results regarding our subsoil mining potential. To that end we may well hope, thanks to the benevolent solicitude and constant availability of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Government of the USSR, that a certain infrastructure necessary for research, such as laboratories and machinery, will soon be set up in Benin to facilitate the followup of that work.

This example, selected from among various areas of cooperation, undeniably shows that cooperation between our country and the USSR is going very well.

That is why, in the name of our avant-garde party, the People's Revolution Party of Benin, and in the name of our revolutionary state, led with clear-sightedness and revolutionary determination by our great comrade in struggle Mathieu Kerekou, chairman of the Central Committee of the People's Revolution Party of Benin, chief of state, President of the Republic, and chairman of the National Executive Council, I would like to pay ardent tribute to Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who has made and continues to make an excellent contribution to the substantial changes which have taken place in world politics as a whole in the context of reinforcement of the principles of peaceful coexistence, of detente in international relations, of the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism and international imperialism, and of the struggle for the continued reinforcement of the position of socialism, national liberation, and democracy in the world arena.

#### Reaffirming Our Desire for Peace

In the face of the constant threat to world peace, a threat characterized particularly by the existence of centers of tension here and there that are created and maintained by international imperialism, this day's demonstration of friendship and solidarity with the invincible nation of the USSR is an opportunity for our party and our revolutionary state to reaffirm the ardent desire of the entire peaceable Beninese people to see the broad anti-imperialist front further strengthen the unity in its midst and to engage in efforts with a view to eliminating the danger of war, stopping the arms race, preserving and increasing international detente, and protecting the sovereignty, rights, and vital interests of emancipated countries against the attacks of imperialism.

Therefore, it is more important today than ever for the peoples of the People's Republic of Benin and the USSR to further strengthen their friendship and solidarity on the basis of equality, mutual respect, national sovereignty, and reciprocal benefits, in order to give succeeding generations the

opportunity to enjoy the fruits of the good relations which so fortunately link our two countries and our two revolutions.

The militant nation of the USSR will continue to find the People's Republic of Benin a faithful friend in the struggle for social progress, peace, and international security.

Your Excellency, Mr Ambassador:

To conclude, I would like to ask you to convey to the valiant and invincible people of the USSR, to its party, and to its government the feelings of deep friendship on the part of the militant people of Benin, of its avant-garde party, the People's Revolution Party of Benin, and of its National Executive Council headed by President Mathieu Kerekou.

As for yourself, Mr Ambassador, we take the opportunity offered to us to express to you our sincere wishes for the complete success of such a noble mission as yours.

The invaluable efforts you are making for the expansion of cooperation between the People's Republic of Benin and the USSR constitute grounds for loyalty and confidence on the part of the Beninese nation.

We are convinced that the year 1982 will be recorded as a significant year in the context of the development of our relations of cooperation for the victory of our just causes.

Long life to President L. I. Brezhnev.

Long life to President Mathieu Kerekou.

Long live proletarian internationalism.

Long live friendship and solidarity between the People's Republic of Benin and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Ready for revolution!

The struggle goes on.

#### Soviet Ambassador's Speech

Cotonou EHUZU in French 5 Feb 82 pp 1, 3, 5

[Speech by His Excellency Mr Vitaly Agapov: "Peace Is Absolutely Necessary for Africa"]

[Text] Comrade members of the Central Committee of the People's Revolution Party of Benin,

Dear comrades and friends:

The Soviet-Beninese friendship evenings dedicated to the anniversaries of our two revolutions--the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Democratic and Popular Revolution of Benin, which our peoples celebrate each year in November--are becoming a very fine tradition. They are a tradition which, along with so many other relationships, expresses the solidarity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the People's Revolution Party of Benin and their determination to do everything possible in order to see the bonds of friendship, cooperation, and mutual knowledge and the unity of action of our peoples strengthened and expanded.

In fact, the cooperation that exists in government-to-government relations between our two countries is bound to expand and take concrete form to an even greater extent in the years to come for the good of our peoples. At the same time, there exists a class solidarity and an objective unity of the goals and aspirations of our two revolutions which expresses our common will to do everything we can so as to ensure the necessary international conditions for building socialism in conditions of peace--peace on the regional, continental, and world levels.

I believe that the desire for peace is a basic feature of any revolution with a genuinely progressive and socialist inclination--provided, however, that each such authentic revolution knows at the same time how to defend itself effectively. It must know how to defend itself not only militarily but also economically, politically, ideologically, socially, and culturally in the face of attacks of all kinds, attacks by domestic and external counter-revolutionary forces to which a socialist revolution is always subjected.

As regards the external conditions of revolutionary transformations, it should be emphasized that it was only after the Great Socialist October Revolution that, for the first time in the history of civilization, nations put theory into practice regarding the issue of peace and war--an issue set out in theoretical terms by the great Lenin, who considered it to be the most important human issue. He stressed dozens of times in different circumstances that the phenomenon of war was foreign to the interests of peoples and brought them only misfortune and suffering. The imperialist First World War, its scope, the destructive force of the weapons used by the belligerent countries, the damage done to the civilian populations and economies of those countries, etc--all of that led Lenin to conclude that cataclysms of that kind threatened "to undermine the very conditions of existence for human society."

When, on the day following the October Revolution, the Second Congress of the Soviets of Russia adopted the Decree on Peace, that was the first document of capital importance by the Soviet government to attract the attention of all humanity, and for good reason. Although the young Soviet republic found itself surrounded by hostile capitalist countries, it proclaimed for all time the principle of peaceful coexistence as one of the fundamental principles of its foreign policy. A state had just been born which was making peace a line of conduct and a political constant. Therefore, the USSR to this day follows (and always will follow) that line of conduct.



The Soviet state's first steps served to cement the foundations laid by the Decree on Peace, which in its entirety and in its every word constitutes an historic act that is still of burning topical import. The world of progress began the struggle which today is supported by all the world's democratic forces.

#### Safeguard Peace at All Cost

After coming to power, the Soviet Government proposed a program to the capitalist countries at the conferences of Genoa and The Hague in 1922, a program of economic cooperation based on the principles of noninterference in the sovereignty of others and on mutual benefit. At that time the Soviet Union had already advocated a general arms reduction as well. No one was surprised that the fate these proposals met with on the side of the imperialist powers was not an enviable one. That did not matter: the government of the Soviets, impelled by the mighty principles of Marxism-Leninism, still continued resolutely to struggle for the independence of nations, for the cooperation of sovereign states, and for general and complete disarmament, the guarantee of a just and lasting peace in the world. That is why, while the Communist Party of the Soviet Union counters all imperialist aggression, it never misses an opportunity to reaffirm the USSR's orientation toward peaceful coexistence on the basis of noninterference in internal affairs.

The whole set of concrete tasks set out during the 1970's at the 24th, 25th, and 26th (1981) party congresses and aimed at the prevention of war and the strengthening of the foundations of international security created a worldwide stir as the Soviet Peace Program. In most countries of the world it is considered to be a program of concrete measures showing the way to wipe out the "cold war" and to move from the danger of war to peaceful cooperation.

If the decisions made in the foreign policy area by the three forums of the party in power, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are considered as a whole, the Soviet Peace Program encompasses all the major issues of the safeguarding of peace and international security and all areas of relationships among states. It ranges from clearing up centers of warfare still going on and the prevention of new clashes among states to the implementation of the principle of collective security; from steps for protecting military detente in regions from confrontation of the utmost danger. to banning all types of mass extermination weaponry; from completing the liquidation of colonialism and racism to the development of mutually advantageous cooperation among states in the solution of the main economic, scientific, and technological problems which have developed in the world.

The measures proposed by the Soviet Union during recent years anticipate solutions of a political as well as a military nature. The solutions have to do with nuclear missile weaponry, conventional weaponry, land forces, navies, and air forces. These measures are concerned not only with the situation in Europe but also with the situations in the Near East and Middle East, Africa, the Far East, and other regions. An identical objective unites all the Soviet proposals: to do everything possible to remove from nations the threat of nuclear war in order to safeguard peace in the world.

## The Present Military Balance a Stabilization Factor

However, it should be observed that the policy of the most aggressive circles of imperialism has aggravated tension in the world considerably and has increased the danger of a new war. While the Soviet Union has set out its wide-ranging Peace Program for the 1980's in order to implement it with consistency, world imperialism, with the most reactionary circles of the United States of America at its head, has ratified the so-called "Global Strategy for the 1980's." The goal of this strategy is to upset the balance in the relationship of forces between NATO and the Warsaw Pact and between the USA and the USSR, to impose American military supremacy over the Soviet Union, and to arm world imperialism to an excessive degree in order to dictate its rules of conduct from a position of strength to socialist countries and all countries liberated from the colonial yoke and all countries of the world.

Obviously, imperialism has again set itself the task of trying to attack the USSR and socialist countries militarily. It is for that reason that imperialism is feverishly making preparations and is attempting to upset the balance of forces which has been established over previous decades.

It is well known that the USSR and the USA have reached a point of relative balance in terms of their military potential, as have the European countries that belong to the opposing military alliances. This is a balance which has objectively become a stabilization factor in the international situation, the threshold where detente began.

It is quite obvious that in the present context, no one has any chance of being able either to violate the limits of that military and strategic balance which has been reached or to guarantee supremacy for themselves. Those who toy with such plans certainly exaggerate their feasibility and lose sight of the potential of the other party, which will not remain passive in the face of military preparations started up against it.

Any attempt to upset or shatter that balance will lead to a new stage of the arms race and to an increase in the danger of a war. The basic problem is knowing whether the road to this growing danger will be blocked or not. This is a problem which directly concerns anyone and everyone, and about which debate has started up on a worldwide scale.

The USSR's attitude toward the solution to this problem fits the vital interests of all the world's peoples. It anticipates not a confrontation of military forces among states but rather the guarantee of their overall security. The good neighbor and detente policy which is the USSR's has nothing of a situational nature about it: it is the expression of the USSR's steadfast and consistent wish for peace. The USSR does not intend to attack anyone and does not set for itself the goal of being more powerful than anyone. There is no type of weapon that it would be reluctant to part with, on condition of course that this be done on the basis of reciprocity. The USSR is ready to confirm by actions what has just been said. In other words, it is ready to make it concrete in commitments, whether at the Geneva talks, in Vienna, or elsewhere.



The new proposals concerning nuclear weapons in Europe made by Leonid Brezhnev, head of the Soviet state, at the time of his visit to the FRG in November 1981 are new evidence of a great sense of responsibility for the destinies of mankind.

The Soviet Union is in favor of a radical reduction in intermediate-range nuclear arms and of having the two parties--East and West--totally renounce all types of that weaponry. In general, the Soviet Union in the final analysis would like Europe and the whole world ultimately to be free from nuclear weapons.

Compared to what we try to propose (rather than "impose"), the imperialists totally ignore the principle of equality and equal security of the parties. They demand unilateral disarmament from the Soviet Union and the dismantling of all Soviet intermediate-range missiles, while hundreds of land-based and sea-based missiles as well as aircraft carrying nuclear bombs would be retained which belong to the United States and its allies in Europe and which are aimed directly at the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries.

In the Soviet Union we would like to think that those who define U.S. policy will be capable of taking a more realistic look at things. To want to scare nations in an unrestrained way by brandishing an imaginary "Soviet military threat" is wrong behavior. Western public opinion will certainly be capable of understanding who in actual fact threatens the peace.

#### In Favor of Arms Limitation

We think that foreign public opinion in general will have to assess the corrupt products of the Pentagon's propaganda as they must be assessed. The lie about "the Soviet military threat" is obviously not accepted. The peoples of the world increasingly understand that there is only one way out of the impasse of competition in the area of arms buildup: not to start new rounds in the arms race but to negotiate faithfully and concretely with the goal of ending up with mutually acceptable agreements in the area of arms limitation and in the area of disarmament. This is precisely that path which the Soviet Union recommends.

That path is the one recommended by the Great Socialist October Revolution, by the great Lenin, and by the whole Soviet nation--the only valid path which fits in with the aspirations of all nations.

In order to block the road to nuclear war, it is obviously not enough just to declare oneself in favor of peace. In order to guarantee peace, all nations, all governments, all freedom-loving forces must struggle in every way they can against the plans and aggressive maneuverings of imperialism. That is imperative for our time

On this occasion, it should be stressed strongly and with great satisfaction that the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Benin go hand in hand, along with other progressive countries of the world, in this courageous

and noble struggle. The countries of Africa as a whole have by an overwhelming majority actively supported the new peace initiatives put forward by the USSR during the last (26th) session of the UN General Assembly. And nothing could be more natural, since peace is absolutely necessary for Africa. It is only under conditions of peace that the peoples of this continent will be able to organize the immense sociopolitical tasks with which they are faced: to fight poverty, make the people literate, banish disease, create genuinely independent economies, strengthen state institutions, etc.

Comrades!

Lenin used to say that disarmament is the ideal of socialism. Nowadays the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, progressive and revolutionary countries, and world democratic forces and organizations have made "that ideal" a priority objective, and all their actions actively work to promote its achievement.

Long live the Great Socialist October Revolution and the Democratic and Popular Revolution of Benin!

Long live the Communist Party of the USSR and the People's Revolution Party of Benin, which reflect and courageously defend the interests of their peoples!

Long live the friendship between the Soviet and Beninese peoples.

9631

CSO: 4719/617

CONFIDENCE LACKING, RENEWED FRATRICIDAL COMBAT FEARED

Paris LE FIGARO in French 18, 19 Feb 82

[Two-part article by Pierre Branche: "Chad, the Quagmire"]

[18 Feb 82 p 2]

[Part 1: "Peace With a Bitter Taste"]

[Excerpts] The advantage, of brick or parpen is that the damage is more spectacular than serious, and the repairs are simple and not very costly. Thus, the European section of Ndjamena, ravaged by the civil war between the troops of Hissein Habre and those of Guokouni Oueddei, President of the Transitional Government of National Unity (GUNT), could very well rise anew from ruins that were believed to be beyond recall.

Indeed, Ndjamena's buildings have been less affected than a hasty look around would lead one to believe. What has really been ruined is the equivalent, for Paris, of the St.-Honore district and the Champs-Elysees. In most cases, the main structures are intact. What this district has cruelly suffered from mostly is looting: methodical plundering, which has not spared one air-conditioner, one door, one window, one electrical outlet. Anything which could be lifted off, taken down, or torn off has disappeared. This has been carried to extremes: stocks and furniture are gone, of course. But factory and workshop machinery has also been carried off. "This is the stumbling block of the Chadian renaissance," a businessman told us; he had come to assess his chances for a new start. "All this booty has been sold in Cameroon and Nigeria. Corporations and firms are ruined and cannot hope for the least war damages. Even should they have a few pennies in their coffers, they would not find any equipment or spare parts. Also, only one bank has reopened; it has only been able to do so thanks to a moratorium. It has no money to lend, and its clients' accounts are empty. To reprime the pump, you would need a large-scale backer on the order of the World Bank. You would need loans at low interest rates."

Then you would need political confidence. And that has dropped considerably since Hissein Habre, who too early on was believed to have been eliminated, is once again threatening the current precarious balance.

Confidence: Could the return of the French flag help strengthen it? Since 1 February, after an 18-month "void," our country once again has an ambassador in Chad. He is Claude Soubeste, who left good memoirs here from the time when he was consul. During the bloody summer of 1980, he was able to efficiently organize the departure of about 1,000 French who were in distress. Today, in areas that have been devastated, our representative sleeps, "Spartan-like," on a cot, with a radio, a telephone, a fridge and a bad desk as his only furniture. The supply corps, of course, is to follow. But this diplomat, who takes risks and pays for it with his own person, believes an example must be set if you want to set in motion the mechanism for a return to normal.

For in spite of all the current vicissitudes, the tricolor flag still retains symbolic strength. Whatever judgement has been brought to bear on French politics in Chad since 1960, whatever responsibilities have been placed upon us since the 11 February Nairobi, meeting in it is undeniable that good memories, vaguely colored with nostalgia, remain...yes, of yesteryear's colonial power, because of the period of peace and prosperity it represented. A certain idea about France has always been popular in the former Fort-Lamy, from where Leclerc began his march of liberation....And people are quite ready to compare the behavior of yesteryear's French with that of yesterday's Libyans, in order to put in better relief the blunders of the latter.

"Libya has allowed a historical opportunity to go by in Chad through ignorance and presumption," a person close to President Goukouni Oueddei confided to us. "Yet, when they arrived in 1980, there existed a feeling of sympathy for these disciplined, efficient people who were reestablishing peace after 15 years of civil war. Their monthly contribution to the budget, 2 billion CFA francs (40 million French francs), showed their desire to bring the country out of pauperism. But Colonel Qadhafi's soldiers did not know how to engage in dialog with Chadians. Their attitude was colored by paternalism, which was resented. Then in the north, they very clearly behaved like bosses. Of course it was you Westerners who, along with the OAU, pressured us to call for their departure. But all your diplomacy would have failed if the Libyans had not 'failed' us psychologically."

"They did not think of a good way to make themselves indispensable," an authority on economic matters observes with a bit of cynicism. "They should have put up a factory for just about anything, employing 3,000 or 4,000 people, and kept control of it. So then if some authority of ours had dared call for their departure, it would have been the people who would have said no, out of fear of unemployment."

#### The State Broken Down

There are many refugees who in recent months have made the trip back from Cameroon, by crossing the Chari by pirogue, to go home. Then there are others who never left home, who hid like hermit crabs deep in their shells, who are coming out again. Of the 180,000 inhabitants that the city had, two-thirds are actually believed to [still] be there. Around the town square, next to Leclerc's historic Camp Kouffra, the ruins of the Presidential Palace, and the cathedral, burnt to ashes, street vendors of all kinds, and cigarettes in



sardine cans which have been washed off out of gasoline cans, are beginning to restore a little animation.

A little farther along, around the gleaming mosque that the battles spared, a whole section of businesses and pleasures is coming back to life: movies, restaurants, and even some real shops with windowpanes. Life is not cheap, but everything that is necessary for present consumption can be found. In the streets, uniforms abound. All those athletic young men in tight leopard-skin [uniforms] with "tommyguns" slung carelessly over their shoulders, belong to the different factions of the GUNT and are supposed to be more or less part of the nascent Integrated National Army (ANI).

But it is a funny peace that Ndjama is living in: feverish, artificial, and obsessed by the threat of a new civil war. Also, the city is more occupied than governed. There is "a little" telephone service, "a little" mail service, "a little" water in the faucets; there is no public lighting; and the sewers overflow with filth....Television has never existed in Chad; as for Radio Ndjama, it does not carry much farther than 20 kilometers. Links with other cities are nearly nonexistent, except with towns in the south: bush taxis take off on the trails. But considering the distances, which are immense--Chad is two and a half times the size of France--and the roadblocks of various and dubious origins, this is a chancy undertaking.

Airplanes? There are no longer any civilian links. The Chadian Air Force consists of a few DC-3's and DC-4's, which guarantee the resupply of the military contingents in the north and east and occasionally carry a few fortunate people.

Early in this year of 1982, the Chadian reality is that the wheels of state are turning extremely slowly. "It could operate but it lacks fuel," says a Peace Corps worker who has been in Chad for a long time. "The civil servants are high quality. Generally, they are Saras, men from the south, who are educated and have a sense of community. But the way they are paid is out of a dream world. This is an anomaly that is all the more questionable since, as the national income--taxes--is practically nonexistent, the various international aid programs--French, American, and Algerian, among others--should in all logic allow for the payment of state services." After all, Chad's annual budget is only 20 billion CFA francs, or 400 million French francs.

"Then," adds a Chadian--specifically someone from Moundou, a southern, cotton-producing city relatively sheltered from the current jolts--"too many authorities have become ingrained in their roles as recipients of state aid. Nobody gets all upset about this takeover by the foreigner: the French telephone system, the German hospital, the American ferry, etc.

"Another cause of apathy that is fraught with consequences," he goes on "is the fact that attempts to restart basic-necessity industries, food industries among others, are the work of Cameroonians or Nigerians. That's the last straw; if we don't react, we are going to be under the economic dependency of our immediate neighbors."



## The Season for Dupes

In the military area, the same process prevails. After the Libyans left in December, "thanked" by Goukouni Oueddei, an inter-African force created by the Organization of African Unity was stationed as a buffer between Hissein Habre's Armed Forces of the North (FAN) and the faltering ANI. Commanded by Nigerian General Ejiga, [the ANI] is 5,000 men strong and made up of Nigerian, Senegalese, and Zairian contingents.

From the outset, a considerable ambiguity became apparent between the OAU and the GUNT. For the latter, it went without saying that this African army, like an iron lance, was coming to replace the Libyans to finish their work; that is, "kick out of Chad," for good, the "renegade" Hissein Habre and, if possible, cut his troops to pieces. If it did not take the offensive, at the very least this force would prevent any reconquest by the FAN of one single bit of Chadian territory. It can be conceded that the promises made at the time by the OAU, Paris, and Washington, all of which wanted above all else to see Colonel Qadhafi's troops cross back over the border, contained enough imprecisions for the GUNT's President to delude himself about this.

The version of the "godfathers" with the African "blue helmets" is somewhat different. In substance, they explain that what is at issue is a neutral police force, responsible for saving the country from foreign aggression but not permitted to become physically involved in a domestic conflict. We are also reminded that this force was to have only a limited existence (around 6 months)--time for Chad to make the ANI into a genuine army. Now it has been pointed out that the GUNT does not lack men. Nor has there been any nigardliness in providing them with the necessary money and weapons: on France's part, especially, but on Algeria's as well. Yet the ANI has not prevented Hissein's "return" to Chad from the Sudan....

The FAN's progress, begun as soon as the Libyans had departed, has been very slow. They are very careful to avoid coming into contact with the African "blue helmets." This is an action which has psychological as well as strategic significance: they want to shake the convictions and confidence which Chadians have in the GUNT, and that of the OAU and the Westerners as well.

In this sense, Habre can be pleased with the conclusions of the OAU conference, which brought together on 11 and 12 February in Nairobi the principal heads of state concerned with the conflict. Led by Guinean Sekou Toure and Nigerian Shehu Shagari, the African wise men made a series of decisions which had the effect of a bombshell in Ndjamena. At the end of February, a "cease-fire" among the parties. Then, the organization of elections and the withdrawal of the inter-African forces, all within a 4-month time limit! When the news reached the banks of the Chari River, the prevailing impression was that the OAU was keeping its distance from the GUNT and was arranging an honorable way out for itself.

Hissein Habre sent a congratulatory telegram to Nairobi, while Goukouni Oueddei practically slammed the institution's door, declaring that this was an inadmissible intrusion into Chadian domestic affairs.

It appeared to many Chadians that a new page was going to be turned, for it was hard to see how such intractable factions were going to forget the blood that had been spilled and fall into each others' arms simply upon being asked to do so by the OAU. In Ndjamen, it is very apparent that this poorly guaranteed peace has a bitter taste.

[19 Feb 82 p 2]

[Part 2: "The Madness of Annihilation"]

[Text] Ndjamen could arise from the destruction of civil war. But confidence is lacking. People fear Hissein Habre's return and the renewal of fratricidal combat. In addition, the refusal of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to support the only government, that of Goukouni Oueddei, and its desire to have elections very soon weaken the latter's authority even more (see yesterday's edition).

Mirthful, he is conspicuously and noisily mirthful, this Nigerian lieutenant of the "Inter-African Peace Force." From his isolated camp in Ati, he has just learned that in Nairobi a date had been set for June, at the latest, for the end of the African blue helmets' mission in Chad. At the worst, more than three and a half months to get through. "And relax, sir; from now until then everyone is going to be on good behavior. Let the Chadian Army go see how it measures up to Hissein Habre's FAN if it wants to. As for us, that's not our job, sir."

A little farther on, the Zairians are very pleased, too, but with much more reserve. For they speak French, like the Chadians of the ANI (Integrated National Army), and had fraternized with them for 2 months. Thus there is some embarrassment in knowing you are going to abandon them. "But you understand it's not our business to go get our bellies shot full of holes for Chad. And those people spend their time quarreling and making up. If you at least knew where the good ones are and the bad ones are...." These are the words of a captain from Kinshasa who prefers to speak out of earshot of his troops.

Some 450 kilometers east of Ndjamen, Ati, capital of Batha, remains the last defense on the road to the capital. Batha is the vast region of the Ouaddai, all of whose localities have fallen into Hissein Habre's hands. Ati is a city of 15,000 inhabitants, and one glance over the wing of the Chadian Air Force's ancient but solid Dakota is enough to capture its very simple geometry: nothing but squares of low, earthen houses, separated by rectangular sand streets. On one side, an immense square, souk food, fabrics, household objects carried around in chests by age-old camel caravans. An authentic Saharan Africa, poor, proud, very far removed from the tourist cliches, and much more colorful.

There is also a brand new, already anachronistic, vast military cemetery. Its walls are built to last 1,000 years, and it contains the graves of seven of Colonel Qadhafi's soldiers who were killed last year in combat. Some Libyan buildings, permanent structures recognizable by their dominant, harsh

green--schools, dispensaries, etc.--bear, in Arabic, inscriptions celebrating the union of the two peoples....

A paratrooper captain from the ANI (who had trained for 1 year in Montpellier), whom we found near a camp inherited from the Libyans, does not hide his bitterness: "Have you seen how all these Nigerians and Zairians are equipped? Everything is new: light and heavy weapons, jalopies, ambulances, uniforms, tents, cots! You French, and the Americans, have spoiled them! Really, in Lagos, Brazzaville, and Dakar they can rejoice; they have pulled off a bargain: getting all these troops equipped for nothing. As they pull out, they sap our morale; they can take their disguises and their toys back home, and let us make war.

"We are a barefoot army. We fight with popguns. All because, when weapons and ammunition arrive from abroad, our noncoms in Ndjama prefer to equip the troops of each of the clans and keep the best men there. They know that their political weight is proportional to the number of personnel they have right there under their control. So here, they let us get by as well as we can with kids and pokers. Finally, you know, Hissein Habre's reputation is overrated; his present march from Sudan has encouraged nothing but empty space. But the time is coming for our Ndjama chiefs to wake up."

At the end of December, two of these important chiefs made a trip here: Wadal Abdelkader Kamougue, vice president of the GUNT and head of the Chadian Armed Forces (FAT), the southeastern group, was accompanied by the Muslim, pro-Libyan northerner, Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmat Acyl, head of the Revolutionary Democratic Council (CDR). Both spoke realistically, making public acknowledgement of Ndjama's indolence and the need to hasten the actual establishment of an integrated army. Very shortly afterward, Oum Hadjer, 150 kilometers from Ati, fell into the hands of the FAN almost without a fight....

#### Ethnic Groups and Tribalism

"We are paying for our inability to overcome our old ethnic demons," explains a superior officer on the return flight to the capital. Because he is of mixed origin, he does not ally himself with any tendency. "It is true that the Tubus of the north, intransigent, bellicose Muslims whose ancestors were slave escorts, have always nurtured a latent irredentism which sporadically breaks out in raids and killings. It is true that when the French were here, they [Tubus] refused to send their children to school, finding it humiliating to their status as men of the desert.

"Suddenly, the Saras from the south, placid cotton growers, Animists converted to Christianity, became good, docile students. Educated, organized, they made off with all the juicy positions when the French left. Their chief, Francois Tombalbaye, who governed the Chadian Republic for 15 years before he was assassinated, had built up tribalism as a systematic method for governing. Out of this persecution, the FROLINAT was born. It was not able to raise itself above the quarrels of the clans. This country today is more a result of gangs than of the army. In addition, Qadhafi has just made a costly experiment of it."

"The threat of Hissein Habre is the cement of Chadian unity," observes a Peace Corps volunteer who has moved across to the Cameroonian side of the Chari, to Kousseri. Everybody is very much aware of this. Does it mean that in case of a victorious offensive, the head of the FAN would be jubilantly welcomed in his good city of Ndjamen? Most certainly not, according to the almost unanimous opinion of neutral observers whom we met there. They explain, in substance, that Hissein let his "one big chance," or even "chances," for winning popular approval go by.

They say that if he had been patient and known how to maneuver, he had two golden opportunities to come to power peacefully--with General Malloum in 1978 and with Goukouni Oueddei in 1979. If he were as intelligent as he is said to be, they observe, he would already be president of the republic, Ndjamen would be intact, and Chadians would be working. But he always wanted everything right away and did not hesitate to unleash a civil war. These are facts that people do not forget. They compare this destructive, absolutist behavior to the debonair management of Goukouni and the GUNT, whose arrival on the scene coincided with a period of tolerance. It was predicted that things would very shortly tighten up, and that questionings would occur. This is not discernible here and remains, at the least, very limited.

Then, militarily speaking, Ndjamen is not ready to fall like a ripe fruit into Habre's hands. It is a bunker, an arsenal packed with men and power. On the other hand, the farther the FAN leader goes from his bases in Sudan, the weaker he becomes. If he wins, according to people here, it will be less through strength than by ruse, by instigating "conversions," by making friends for himself on the inside.

On 12 February, a fair-sized crowd cheered Goukouni as he disembarked from the Nigerian Mystere 50 which brought him back from Nairobi. "The OAU has brought serious insult upon the Chadian people," he declared, "by casting doubt upon the legitimacy and representative nature of the GUNT." He asserted that his government did not feel bound by the OAU's directives. It is also true, as he pointed out, that some of the participants at Nairobi were in a poor position to be giving lessons in democracy. Also, for anyone living in Chad today, it is somewhat ridiculous to prescribe to a population that is still stunned by killings the holding within a few weeks of elections which presuppose reconciliation.

Two days later, Goukouni proclaimed: "Generations of Chadians will be sacrificed, if need be, so that we may be free." Then he said he might possibly "call upon his friends for help." Is he thinking of the Libyans? He cannot hope for that. Even if he is biting off his fingers for having given them their leave so cavalierly--at present he is making assertions that they are "the Chadians' best allies"--it is impossible for him to make a direct appeal for their return unless he wants to pass for a puppet. Then, too, the big brother from the north, useful as he was, was somewhat of an invader. Finally, Colonel Qadhafi, in the text of his speech following his troops' return to the country, declared: "Henceforth, we shall show proof of our neutrality concerning the belligerent Chadian parties, and we will make no distinction between Chadians who are within or outside the country....We commit



ourselves to proving our neutrality in the military area, and we will never intervene in Chad again should a war break out there."

### Crossfire Against France

In addition, although Tripoli has made no ironic observations about false friends who abandon the GUNT in the middle of a stream, they derive a certain satisfaction from having gotten out of the Chadian quagmire looking so good. So next June, when Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi takes over the OAU presidency from Kenyan Arap Moi, he will not be dragging any "mess tins" behind him. He can even afford himself the luxury of inviting that body, in a democratic way, to [engage] less in interventionism in the domestic affairs of states....

The proximity of that date can explain the good will shown toward Paris. We talked in the Libyan capital with French-speakers who were very direct about the meandering of French politics; a distinction is made between President Mitterrand, described as measured in his African vision, and Minister of Cooperation Jean-Pierre Cot, whose impetuous behavior causes people to say he is somewhat of a "cowboy."

Visiting Goukouni's possible "friends" on the African continent, one really sees it is only Algeria that truthfully has provided constant political and material support to the GUNT. For Chadli Bendjedid's team, Hissein Habre is a warmonger who must be made incapable of doing any harm. The GUNT must be helped to reestablish a civilian government. And the Chadian National Army must be supported, educated, and equipped--not this African force, which, as Algiers had predicted, was the bait offered to Goukouni to convince him to do without the Libyans. Thus, the head of the GUNT can count upon the continuation of civil and military aid, but not upon one single soldier. That has no part at all in the government's geopolitical vision: this was emphatically repeated to us in the Algerian capital.

### Humanitarian Motives

Once again, it is France which is going to have the most trouble getting out by the skin of its teeth. Of course, Hissein Habre condemns our country and accuses us of having betrayed the cause of the Chadian people. Yet for all that, does Goukouni Oueddei think well of us? We continue to provide Chad with the largest contribution by far in various civilian and military forms. In addition, we have completely taken over responsibility for the OAU's Senegalese battallion: material, transportation, logistic support. We contribute to the training of the Nigerian and Zairian battallions. Even prior to the Nairobi meeting, the GUNT was already saying that we were doing too much for the OAU's soldiers and too little for theirs. Since 12 February, the climate has grown heavy.

Goukouni henceforth places France within the group of countries he deems have played games with him: Zaire, Guinea, Nigeria. He repeats that at the July 1981 OAU meeting in Nairobi, he was the object of strong pressure to call for the Libyans' departure. In return, the African force was to assure the security of his government until such time as the Chadian Army was in



fighting condition. He says these promises were confirmed to him at the Franco-African summit in Paris in November 1981.

Subsequently, in mid-January, Jean-Pierre Cot stated: "In Chad, France can have only limited objectives and activity, in strict conformity with the decisions of the OAU." But when a power is financing a given policy so broadly, can it purport not to take a determining part in it? This has also been questioned in our country and understood at the Quai d'Orsay: What are we doing, these voices have said, taking part in a quarrel which is not ours? All the more so since we cannot be suspected of protecting any economic interests: there is no oil or ore. Our motives can only be humanitarian, going beyond cliques and individuals.

"Soon," prophesies a Frenchman without any illusions who works for a charitable association, "the world is going to lose interest in Chad, which is going to continue to disintegrate. The rival blocs have distributed heaps of arms ammunition there. The rival factions will be able to kill each other to their hearts' content in the midst of indifference--unless a burst of international conscience prevents these poor people from yielding to the madness of annihilation."

9927

CSO: 4719/660

## WHAT THE FUTURE HOLDS: CALL FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Accra THE LEGON OBSERVER in English Mar 82 pp 49-51

[Editorial]

[Text]

AT least we survived. We have had our difficulties, but the nation is still intact. Indeed, we have managed beyond survival. In the more visible areas of social services, particularly, in the areas of education, health, transportation and housing, we have added significantly to the colonial legacy. It all adds up to an achievement of which we could be justly proud.

But we are far from jubilation, for although we have not quite failed, ours is indeed, a story of unfulfilled promise. There are many schools of thought as to why things turned out this way: To some, stunted growth was the inevitable result of the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah. To others, the fault is not in us, but in our stars, so to speak: Ghana, according to this school of thought, is an accursed name to be avoided like the plague; the black star forbodes evil and ill-luck and should never have appeared in the national coat of arms or the flag. To yet others, the worship of God should have been made central to all our undertakings from the very beginning; instead, we were enjoined to seek first the political kingdom. There are some who think that independence came too soon, perhaps. And there are also those who cannot ever forget or forgive colonialism.

All these various accounts of the national story have naturally led to predictable prescriptions. Nostalgia for the Nkrumah era largely accounted for the election in 1979 of the People's National Party, a party of contradictory interests and large segments of questionable personalities, a veritable Convention People's Party, minus Nkrumah's cohesive influence; we are all witnesses to the consequences. Earlier, we had tried to expunge the black star from wherever it occurred: Black Star Square became Independence Square, and the Black Star shipping line was also renamed. At various times, we have had to set aside whole

weeks for National Repentance. Internationally famous mystics and evangelists have been imported, at state expense, to intercede with deity on our behalf, although we have been a secular state all the while. From time to time, the idea comes up that we should invite foreign experts to resume charge of the more sensitive areas of government. And denunciation of colonialism continues unabated.

But there are other versions of the story. One version recognises that both the time and the circumstances of independence imposed on us a heavy obligation vis-a-vis the rest of Africa. Nkrumah's oft-repeated refrain that our independence

was meaningless unless it was linked to the total liberation of the rest of Africa was, indeed, a correct appreciation of our obligation. But it was an obligation which could not be discharged without cost:

National resources had to be shared with not-so-fortunate brethren in providing educational scholarships, contributing to funds for the onslaught on colonialism and, in some cases, even providing the initial endowment when independence eventually came. Our unique mission imposed on us the necessity to open several embassies abroad; and we had to be present at very international forum to represent Black African interests.

Internally, there had to be a restructuring to reflect the fact of independence. Rapid Africanisation of the Public Service was a matter of priority. As high-level manpower was not readily available, free university education, initiated by the colonial administration, was given a fresh boost to ensure that trained indigenes were available for all our essential services. Meanwhile, positions had to be filled by available local material which was not always suitable.

To catch up with the industrialised North a fully industrialised nation within a decade became the target. Quickly launched, the programme of rapid industrialization somehow stalled. Quite possibly, this set-back was inevitable considering that we did not immediately have the trained personnel, the raw materials or the other conditions for an industrial take-off. No doubt, the failure of expected foreign capital to come in accounts partly for the disappointing outcome. It is a plausible theory that the withholding of foreign capital was an international conspiracy against a black country that was becoming too

outspoken already. Equally plausible is the view that foreign capital failed to come because there were early signs of instability. Some others think that an agro-based development programme was always the better bet, anyway, and, indeed, expert advice to that end was available early enough. Eventually, when it was decided to pay more attention to agriculture, we opted for large mechanised state farms which did not quite meet expectation.

Even before the demise of the First Republic, ominous clouds had gathered. City-bred offsprings of former rural dwellers who had been attracted to the city by the promise of an industrial boom had acquired urban tastes; and suddenly there did not appear to be enough schools, houses, transportation, drugs, essential commodities, demand having outgrown supply. And owing to the failure of exports of both industrial and agricultural products, there was not the wherewithal to import more to satisfy a rapidly expanding urban taste.

Rebellion by a proud independent state against an "imposed Westminster system of government" was only natural. Experiments to find effective ways of representing the people in government were to be expected, therefore. At one time, the idea of the "other party" was said to be alien, indeed, even subversive of orderly government; the single-party system suggested itself. Later, it was represented that the whole idea of party—single-party or multi-party—was itself alien; the no-party system was indigenous and we were lately about to enter some such phase when other things intervened. After that, it was held out that the American model with its legal separation of powers, checks and balances and the concentration of all executive power in an almost irremovable presi-

gency would do the trick.

The fumbling in search of an appropriate form of governance while responding to rather heavy, albeit understandable, international commitments took its toll on our finances and energies. And if the early crowd lacked formal training for assuming at once positions of responsibility in government, the convocation of intellectual-politicians of the old school which followed, also disappointed hopes—petty, arrogant, quarrelsome! And then there were all those unscheduled intermissions. Reprisals from foreign quarters smarting under our strident denunciation of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism or other protest-issues also played their part. In the event, we have not come as far as we might have. But now what of the future?

Colonialism is, unquestionably, debilitating, and deserves the harshest words. As it turns out, fortunately, recovery is possible. Some of the former colonies in the Asian continent, particularly, appear to have made very noticeable progress. No doubt, with effective leadership and sustained hard work, we too could overcome our problems.

Everything considered, it should be possible to come to the conclusion that a review of our role in international politics is necessary. Happily, the Black African scene has changed for the better. Most of the continent is now independent and each country should be presumed capable of representing its own interests. Continuing membership of the major international bodies is not in question, but the vanguard role in world politics is not in keeping with our circumstances any more. Some such understanding of the matter would probably determine that we should have even fewer overseas missions than the thirty recently prescribed.

As can be seen from one of the Notebook entries of this issue, it is no longer true that high-level manpower is in such short supply that we need to maintain the high level of expenditure that characterizes aspects of University education, particularly. A review of the structure of this expenditure seems necessary. Much of the investment in this area seems to benefit the neighbouring countries, anyway, rather than Ghana. In the interest of growth and social justice, it would be more rational to pay a little more attention and resources than we have done so far to the middle and lower levels of manpower-training.

If we accept that we have to do something serious about agriculture and the economy generally, we would do well to assess objectively the performance of state and quasi-state enterprises, such as state farms and the Ghana Reconstruction Corps before further embroilment. If we decide to retain them, we would do well to specify performance tests by which they should be held accountable.

The type of economy we should develop, how we organise agriculture, domestic policies, foreign policy—all these are decisions which properly belong to the people. Inevitably, of course, some decisions have to be taken on behalf of the people at the beginning of a revolution, but at the earliest opportunity formal structures for consultation at the national level should obtain. The popular view is that the structures for consultation and governance so far tried have failed the people. Whatever the case may be, there can be no quarrel with a continuing search for more appropriate models of governance. In this search, hardly a day passes without somebody urging that indigenous institutions and practices should be adopted. Unfortunately, these promptings are not ever elaborated for close study and proper consideration. In contrast to suggestions for borrowing from the traditional setting are suggestions urging a complete overhaul of the existing institutions. According to the PNDC Chairman, in his broadcast on March 5, the People's Defence Committees being formed will be a prominent feature of the new structures to come. At this point, we note with expectation the Chairman's promise of a People's Constituent Assembly. We hope that, when convened, the Constituent Assembly will be able to devise practical measures for securing the people's interests in terms of stability, growth and welfare under whatever system of government should emerge.

To recapitulate, we are saying that we should be thankful that we have survived as a nation. In the course of the last twenty-five years, we have had to do things which we would probably not have done if the circumstances including the timing of our independence had been different. We should recognise the circumstances and shape our policies for survival into the next century to reflect our resources and true needs. Finally, we look forward to the People's Constituent Assembly.

## TRANSNATIONALS, MANAGEMENT WARNED ABOUT FUTURE BEHAVIOR

Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 22 Mar 82 pp 1, 4

[Text]

**THE Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) will change any inimical contracts and agreements signed by past governments with multi-national companies to reflect the interests of Ghanaians.**

Mr Chris Bukari Atim, a member of PNDC, told a workers' rally at Obuasi in Ashanti last Saturday, that if those companies would not agree on a review of such "wicked contracts" they could pack and go, reports the G.N.A.

He said: "We can't allow multi-national companies to continue to oppress and treat Ghanaian workers as sub-human beings to enable them to make their huge profits."

"The holy war should end the monopoly of multi-national companies. We must create the necessary conditions for equality in the country."

According to him the manager is not more important than the worker whose sweat and toil help the company to make profit.

The manager should therefore have respect and sympathy for the worker and improve his service conditions, he added.

Mr Atim maintained that for freedom to have any meaning for the worker, it must begin from his stomach. In addition, workers should be provided with good shelter, adequate medical atten-

tion and other basic necessities of life.

These would be forthcoming if we benefit from our own resources, he stated.

"We must re-define democracy to reflect the interest of workers. We must not allow the propaganda of our enemies to gain roots or go unchallenged to destroy our newly won freedom", he added.

On the formation of People's Defence Committees (PDC's) the PNDC member said the objective was not to put the management at the place they formerly put workers, but help eliminate malpractices.

He emphasised that managements should allow workers some degree of participation in the decision-making process to help solve the numerous industrial problems and increase production.

"No worker should be penalised for his participation in a decision taken by a PDC on any issue. They should have a say at all times", he said.

Mr Atim warned managements to stop their tactics of playing local unions against the defence committees.

"You should not use the unions to incite workers against PDCs", he stated.

He said the PNDC would ensure that any decision taken on the welfare of workers was approved by them, and "this is what should happen at their places of work".

Mr Atim predicted that the dictatorial powers of managements would come to an end with the formation of the PDCs.



However, workers would be expected to live up to expectation by discharging their duties well, he said.

He warned that any attempt by managements to frustrate increase in production because of the formation of PDC's would be considered as sabotage and would be dealt with as such.

Mr Atim said no management would be allowed to use the People's Army and the People's Police to attack workers fighting for their rights as happened in the past.

Since the rifles and the ammunition were bought with the gold the workers produce underground, they should be used to defend the workers, he added.

Mr Atim suggested that managements should always consult the PDCs before dismissing, promoting or increasing the salaries of workers in order to

eliminate hatred and favouritism which had characterised such exercises in the past.

The workers complained that the management of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation (AGC) Ghana Limited was frustrating their efforts in the formation of a defence committee at the mines and called on the PNDC member to meet the management to discuss the issue.

They explained that the progressive leaders among the workers feared to bring them together to discuss the formation of the PDC because in the past those who pressed for their rights were victimised.

Some dismissed workers appealed to the PNDC to correct the injustices meted out to them by the management.

Mr Chris Atim later met the management of the AGC behind closed doors.

CSO: 4700/1061

## DEFICIENCIES IN 'GHANAIAN CHARACTER' NOTED

Accra THE LEGON OBSERVER in English 15 Jan 82 pp 15-16

[Text]

In the early hours of the morning of Thursday, December, 31, it became clear that a take-over of Government was in the making. From a little after 3.00 a.m. loud explosions and intense shooting could be heard from Burma Camp and elsewhere. Towards dawn there was a lull in the shooting and explosions, but this was resumed at mid-morning and what then appeared to be fighting between rival troops went on with some interruptions for the rest of the day and beyond.

At about eleven that morning Flt Lt. Rawlings (rtd) burst on the air to announce that once again he had taken over the administration of the country. Since then he has made a "policy statement" in which he announced the suspension of the Constitution, dismissal of Limann and his administration, the dissolution of Parliament and the proscription of all political parties. On the first day of the take-over there were references in official announcements to a Provisional Military Council, but since the second day the references have shifted to a Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) in the name of which orders have been issued.

One cannot but recall that in the last Constituent Assembly there were many a declaration as to what should be done in the event of another military take-over. There appeared to be a general agreement that no more military interventions should be tolerated and various measures for counteracting interventions were seriously canvassed. Indeed, an attempt was made to em-

bodily these sentiments in the Constitution. What happened to all the brave talk? The PNDC could not be uninterested in our reflections, for having succeeded this far, its own security and that of the nation must be uppermost in its thinking: To what extent can it count on popular support in a real emergency?

It occurs to us that, at least, to the followers of Dr. Nkrumah, ours was an idyllic world during the First Republic. The First Republic collapsed nonetheless under military pressure in 1966 and in the rubble stood self-confessed Nkrumahists denouncing previously hailed ideals of statecraft. The Second Republic similarly fell in 1972 without a whimper from the liberal-democrat-supporters of Dr. Busia and there were many at the election count in 1969. At least sixty percent of the vote in the referendum of March 1978 was claimed for Union Government, yet barely months later SMC I which sponsored the new political philosophy was forced out of office with only as much commotion as it causes to extinguish a candle flame. Members of SMC II who were hailed as deliverers from Acheampong's 'one-man-show' were sent to the firing squad while we looked on. And the Limann Administration has now fallen and with it, perhaps, the Third Republic without a fight even from its greatest beneficiaries, the politician-businessmen -- import-export contractors, chit-pedlars, those at the centre of the distribution of essential commodities! Apart from some cautious criticism

in the Daily Graphic, no answers have been demanded respecting the take-over in the press, least of all by the Ghanaian Times which supported the Limann Administration but has now seen it fit to perform a neat somersault.

There is nothing like a period of crisis to show the character of a people. And what a pointer to the Ghanaian character!

CSO: 4700/1062

## NATIONAL MOSLEM TASK FORCE ESTABLISHED

Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 23 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Francis Kokutse]

[Text]

**M**R Atukwei Okai, Greater Accra Regional Secretary, has said the formation of a National Moslem Task Force is a clear demonstration of their appreciation of the students' efforts to help build the country.

By this simple act, he said, the Moslems had chosen to rise up to join the ranks of others in an effort to help change the Ghanaian society where the people would no longer be subjected to poverty and squalor.

The Regional Secretary was speaking at the inaugural ceremony of the National Moslem Task Force at Abossey Okai last week-end.

## INSPIRATION

Mr Okai observed that the December 31 Revolution had come to give inspiration to the people. It had given wings to the spirit of Ghanaians in all that they would do to make the country a place worth living in.

The Regional Secretary described the Muslim Task Force as a source of pride to the PNDC as well as an encouragement to the people to rise up to help rebuild the country.

Mr Johnny Hansen, PNDC Secretary for Internal Affairs, who also spoke at the function, noted that by the formation of a Task Force, Moslems had identified themselves with the ideals of the Revolution.

According to him, "behind any religion there is a history of revolt against oppression. The Islamic faith is no exception of this fact".

Mr Hansen called on all Moslems to see the present revolution as an attempt to end the oppression that had been meted out to the people for far too long.

Another speaker, Lieutenant Felix Okai, National Co-ordinator of the Youth and Students Task Force, said by the formation of the Moslem Task Force the fear harboured by a section of the people that when the students get back to school a vacuum would be created had been dispelled.

Earlier, Alhaji T. B. Damba, president of the Moslem Task Force, had appealed to all Moslems to embrace the crash agricultural programme launched by the PNDC to provide more to feed the nation.

## LAND NATIONALIZATION ISSUE DE-EMPHASIZED

Accra GHANAIAAN TIMES in English 23 Mar 82 p 2

[Editorial: "Whose Land?"]

[Text] Almost every other day someone urges the PNDC to nationalize all lands in the country to speed up agricultural production. But almost none of the advocates of land nationalization ever explains what position or priority the nationalization occupies in the revolution process.

Some priority actions in any revolution are determined by the particular circumstances of the revolution. A revolution is a practical process, and the theoretical analysis is aimed at clarifying action so that continuity, projection and ultimate effect can be achieved in an orderly manner.

Land reform has been a major, priority, and radical step in most revolutions because land use was the most oppressive factor of the social injustice which those revolutions set out to correct. Land reform is therefore not the doctrinaire concept of revolution which some Ghanaian advocates of such reform think it is.

Take the example of Ethiopia. The nationalization of land was the most essential decision taken after the revolution of February 1974, because Ethiopia was a thoroughly feudal state in which 90 per cent of the farmers were landless peasants who were employed as serfs by big landlords--Landlords meaning owners of the land and not owners of rental houses as is the popular meaning in Ghana.

The Ethiopia landlords were the main oppressive class, and the peasants who tilled the land for them were given no rights at all. The emperor could give any size of land in the country to his family members or to his ministers. And in such an event, all the farmers originally owning the land could be driven out without protest.

To cut it short, about 10 per cent of the population, the exploiter class, owned virtually all the land and 90 per cent of the farmers were serfs working as slaves and getting almost nothing in return for their labour. It was a miserable spectacle of oppression of the common people. So after the revolution the land was nationalized and redistributed to the peasants to end the oppression.



The land reform also made it possible for Mengistu to organize agriculture on the basis of large co-operative.

In Ghana, the basic land system is communal ownership. In many, if not most, regions no one owns land for himself and employs others to work for him. Land is bested in the clan or family, and is held in trust for the free use of all by the clan or family head. So land has never really been a main factor of social injustice in this country.

Indeed, the appeal to chiefs to release lands for agriculture is quite meaningless in most areas of Ghana because chiefs don't own the lands and they have no title to land by reason of their traditional authority.

We have failed to establish large-scale or co-operative farms in Ghana because successive rulers after Kwame Nkrumah simply did not plan for it.

Our largely communal land ownership system in truth offers a ready, trouble-free basis for co-operative farming. In our particular circumstance, the immediately realistic process is to encourage the establishment of communal farms, which the PNDC Chairman and other members of the council have been calling for.

Land nationalization is thus not an essential first step revolutionary requirement. It would rather bring unnecessary confusion and misunderstanding among the rural communities. Even in Ethiopia where the nationalization was inevitable, communal lands were not affected by the nationalization Act.

What we should be doing as the first step to develop agriculture is to find out the areas where land is owned communally and encourage the villages to pool lands for communal farms, even if in the form of block farming to start with.

Already the law allows the government to acquire land. This can be fairly applied to launch either a national co-operative farm movement or to expand the State sector in agriculture. But in areas where land is still in the hands of individuals and where such private ownership has proved to be genuine a stumbling block to agricultural development nationalization may be enforced.

Indeed, there is evidence all over the country that many villages are prepared to establish communal farms if they are shown how to do it and if they are assisted to get the land prepared for cultivation. This must be encouraged. At the same time, the merits of the co-operative farm system are well understood by many people, so a serious co-operative farm programme should be worked out.

People should stop forcing this issue of land nationalization on the PNDC. It sounds a fine revolutionary language, but it is not a priority issue at the moment.

CSO: 4700/1062

## OFFICIAL BLAMES 'INACCURATE' INFORMATION ABROAD

Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 25 Mar 82 pp 1, 4

[Excerpt]

**BRIGADIER Joseph Nunoo-Mensah, Chief of Defence Staff and member of the PNDC, has said that the visit of Ghana's six-man delegation to Britain has helped to clear misrepresentations and unfounded allegations circulating in Europe about the December 31 military action.**

Speaking to the Ghana News Agency shortly after his return from Britain yesterday, Brigadier Nunoo Mensah blamed those baseless allegations circulating in the West on inaccurate information reaching there about events in Ghana.

He said Ghana had won the sympathy and understanding of the British government and the business community as a result of the visit.

Brigadier Nunoo-Mensah described the visit as "very useful and highly successful."

He said as a result of fruitful talks the delegation had with the British Minister for Foreign Af-

fairs, Lord Carrington, relations between the two countries have been strengthened.

The delegation, he said, sought the assistance of the British business community in restructuring the national economy within the framework of national development.

It also assured the British Anglo-Ghana Parliamentary Group that there were no human rights violations under the administration of the PNDC and that efforts were being made to establish a real people's democracy in place of parliamentary democracy which had once again failed in Ghana.

Brigadier Nunoo-Mensah said during talks with representatives of the Macdonnell Douglas Aircraft Corporation, it was discovered that a D.C. 10 aircraft ordered by the ousted government for the Ghana Airways Corporation was ready for delivery but there was no money to pay for it.

The CDS said the delegation, therefore, arranged with some financial institutions to pay for the aircraft to enable Ghana to take delivery.

CSO: 4700/1061

## CAUSE OF DESTRUCTIVE WAREHOUSE FIRE UNKNOWN

Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 24 Mar 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by Afua Serwaa Berko &amp; Kofi Yeboah Agyemang]

[Text]

**IT is not only strange but sad that at this time when motor spare parts and other accessories are not available in the country, large quantities of such items should be allowed to burn to ashes.**

Yesterday at dawn, large quantities of assorted tyres, batteries and office equipment stocked at the Ghana National Trading Corporation Motors Division at Adjabeng estimated at more than C2 million were completely burnt down.

The items included 2,981 assorted second hand tyres, 90 brand new tyres, 1,493 assorted batteries, fridges, air conditioners, steel cabinets containing important documents and telephones.

Yet some days before the fire outbreak, "tro-tro" drivers had queued day and night at the corporation's division for items such as tyres and batteries.

The Inspector-General of Police, Mr R. K. Kugblem who was at the scene to ascertain things for himself, immediately ordered the arrest of the security personnel and watchman on duty at the time of the fire outbreak.

Also to be arrested are workers who were last to leave the corporation's premises.

The IGP also ordered the Tema Police to effect the immediate arrest of one Mr Buaudu of Buaudu Cement Distribution Company at Tema and his secretary.

They are alleged to have used knives to make holes in about 1,000 out of 1,616 assorted tyres which they were asked to surrender to the GNTC for sale to the public.

According to a spokesman for the People's Army attached to the GNTC Motors, Mr Buaudu was supposed to appear before the National Investigations Committee (NIC) in

connection with the holed tyres yesterday.

On the fire outbreak incident, Mr Afoakwa the chief fire officer said at a press briefing that at about 2.45 p.m. yesterday the watchman on duty heard an unusual explosion in the building and since the doors were locked, he peeped through one of the windows and saw thick smoke emerging from the showroom.

He then alerted the security officer on duty who rushed down to the fire station to make a report but before he could reach there a "tro-tro" driver who was sleeping in his parked truck in a queue awaiting the sale of tyres yesterday had gone there to report the incident, he stated.

Mr Afoakwa said the fire outbreak could be attributed to an electrical fault.

The National Fire Service team which arrived at the scene with only one engine, could not control the situation and had to sent for reinforcement from the military and the Civil Aviation.

It took the combined team more than three hours to bring the fire under control.

The cause of the fire outbreak is still being investigated.

## BRIEFS

**NO MORE GCMB COCOA MONOPOLY**--The Ghana Co-operative Marketing Association will now be allowed to purchase cocoa alongside the Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board (GCMB) which has held monopoly over the purchase of the crop in the country for more than a decade. This was announced by Mr Kwaku Ankomah, PNDC Secretary for Rural Development and Co-operatives at a farmers rally organised by the agricultural wing of the Ghana Co-operative Movement at the Prempeh Assembly Hall in Kumasi yesterday. He said arrangements to this effect were being made for the Ghana Co-operative Bank to float share for the benefit of farmers and the general public and also, as a means of bringing up enough capital to assist the association to compete with CMB in the purchase of cocoa. [Excerpt] [Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 23 Mar 82 p 8]

**PROSCRIBED PRIEST ALLOWED BACK**--The PNDC has cancelled the order issued by the deposed Limann Administration sometime last year prohibiting Rev. Father Josephus Visser, formerly a parish priest of the Medina Catholic Church from re-entering Ghana. A statement issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs said the Council had also revoked the deportation order made against Mr Fela Anikulapo Kuti, a well-known Nigerian musician in 1978 by the Acheampong Administration for allegedly engaging in subversive activities against the Government of Ghana. It would be recalled that in June, 1981 the Limann Administration cancelled the residence permit of Father Visser on account of certain unfounded allegations made against the Reverend Father who was well-known at Medina as a social worker and who worked tirelessly for the improvement in the living conditions of the people of the area. The PNDC has considered the circumstances leading to the actions taken by the previous governments against Father Visser and Mr Kuti and is satisfied that the actions are not justified. "The Council has therefore revoked the prohibition orders and Father Visser and Mr Kuti are therefore free to re-enter Ghana if they wish", the statement said. [Text] [Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 25 Mar 82 p 5]

**FEARFUL MANAGERS**--Almost all the 50 managerial staff of the Liver Brothers Ghana Limited at Tema have not been reporting for duty since last Friday following alleged renewed threats of molestation by the workers. It will be recalled that a month ago last Friday, the workers beat up the managers following a deadlock in negotiations for their collective agreement. Some managers who were seriously injured in the attack are still receiving medical attention. Sources close to the managerial staff said they needed full police protection before they could resume work. The chairman of the local people's defence

committee, Mr Charles Acheamfour, when contacted, said he had investigated the alleged threat and found it to be untrue, declaring "the managers are being haunted by their own guilty conscience." "It has come to us as a surprise that they have not come to work since last Friday because nobody will touch them," he said claiming "about five managers have been reporting for duty and nothing has happened to them." [Excerpts] [Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 26 Mar 82 p 8]

PDC AMONG MILITARY--SERGEANT Alolga Akata-Pore, a member of the PNDC has declared that no foreign invasion can succeed if all Ghanaians are united. He said it was therefore, the responsibility of every Ghanaian to support the PNDC to ensure the success of the revolution to avoid any such invasion. Inaugurating the People's defence Committee of the Military Academy and Training School (MATS) at Teshie near Accra yesterday, Sergeant Akata-Pore said it was only when the country was divided that "foreign countries can invade us". The PNDC, he said, would do all it could to unite the country to make it strong to resist oppression. He said the Council will also eliminate the system whereby the rich man is always the person who matters in the society. Sgt. Akata-Pore made it clear that the PNDC would ensure that the economy was so structured to benefit the people who produce the bulk of the nation's wealth. He criticised the country's judicial and educational systems which favoured only the rich in the society. He said the PDCs would ensure that all these inequalities were eliminated from the society. Inaugurating the PDC of the First Infantry Brigade and the Field Engineers Regiment at the Wajir Barracks, the PNDC member called on soldiers not to yield to the pressures of self-seeking individuals. [Text] [Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 20 Mar 82 p 5]

GHANA-LIBYA CLUB AGRICULTURAL PROJECT--The Ghana-Libya Friendship Association has acquired 1,000 acres of land at Bakpa Avedo, near Adidome in the Volta Region, for a large-scale mixed-farming project. Disclosing this in Accra, the chairman of the association, Mr John Kwame Ahiadorme, said the venture was meant to ensure the economic welfare of members as well as being a boost for the Green Revolution launched by the PNDC. The project, he said, would cover the cultivation of such crops as cassava, maize, rice, vams, groundnuts, vegetables and the establishment of livestock and fish farm. He said the project would be financed through members' contributions, adding that work on it would start within the next two weeks with the direct labour of members. Mr Ahiardome [sic] stated, however, that the association was ready to accept assistance from organization and individuals in the accomplishment of its aim. [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 23 Mar 82 p 3]

NATIONAL SERVICE PLANNED--Rev. Dr. Kwabena Damuah, PNDC member, announced here yesterday that the Government would soon launch a mass national service programme embracing all able bodied Ghanaians aged 18 and above. Speaking at the launching of a £13 million self-supporting rural development programme, first of its kind in the country, he explained that the move was to ensure that everyone played his part in the reconstruction of the country. Rev. Damuah was happy to learn that the programme would be funded fully from local resources except the foreign exchange component of £1.7 million. [Excerpt] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 23 Mar 82 p 8]



FRG TOOL DONATION--The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany yesterday donated technical equipment worth over £3 million to the Omnibus Services Authority (OSA) to improve the country's transportation system at a ceremony in Accra. The presentation was made by Dr Gottfried Fischer, German Ambassador to Ghana, and was received by the PNDC Secretary for Transport and Communications Alhaji Mahama Iddrisu. Receiving the gifts, Alhaji Iddrisu thanked the government and people of the Federal Republic of Germany for their kind gesture. [Excerpt] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 25 Mar 82 p 3]

SUBVERSION OF NEIGHBORS DENIED--A member of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), Mr Chris Bukar Atim, has declared that Ghana has no intentions to subvert any of her neighbouring countries. "Revolutions are contagious" he noted. "and our neighbouring countries are afraid that the current happenings in Ghana would erupt at their places too." Mr Atim who was inaugurating the People's Defence Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Accra yesterday, urged such countries to continue to maintain normal relations with Ghana, stressing that Ghana was prepared to be nice to all friendly nations. The PNDC, he said, was aware that many of Ghana's missions abroad were fully engaged in subversive activities instead of projecting the image of the country and educating the people on the December 31 Revolution. He said the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had a very important role to play in exposing such saboteurs and counter-revolutionaries. [Excerpt] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 24 Mar 82 p 1]

VIETNAM DELEGATION'S VISIT--A two-man delegation from the socialist republic of Vietnam is in the country to convey a message from President Nguyen Huu Tho, the Vietnamese President, to the people of Ghana. At a meeting with the PNDC Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Dr Obed Asamoah, the Vietnamese delegation, led by Mr Vu Hac Bong, expressed his country's support for an solidarity with the Chairman of the PNDC, the Government and people of Ghana in their struggle to rebuild the country. Mr Bong stated that with their 30 years of revolutionary struggle they would continue to stand solidly behind Ghana's revolutionary efforts. Dr Asamoah replied that he was particularly glad that the Vietnamese had made contact at a time Ghana was engaged in her own revolution to transform the country. He observed that Ghana welcomed such support and solidarity from friendly countries. The Secretary was pleased to learn that after their long struggle against imperialism, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was now engaged in national reconstruction. [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 20 Mar 82 p 1]

CSO: 4700/1062

BACKGROUND OF UNIVERSITY UNREST, PRESIDENT'S REACTION REPORTED

Dakar AFRICA in French Mar 82 pp 31-34

[Article by Jean-Pierre Aye: "The Seamy Side of a Crisis and Houphouet's Reasons"]

[Text] It was especially hot in Abidjan in February. And not only for reasons of climate. Think about it: the closing of the university, suspension of scholarships and of the teachers' salaries, dissolution of their union--the SYNARES [African Union for Research and Higher Education]--etc. After a debate in which all of the nation's active forces joined, these measures of firmness were postponed until the beginning of March. This clemency, following a period of high tension, may have been surprising. In any case, there is another reason besides the simple and legitimate concern not to punish too heavily the bursts of generosity of a student youth of whom the majority are anxious to work. Whereas if it really happened? After a painstaking inquiry, our correspondent in Abidjan, Jean-Pierre Aye, reveals the real seamy side of this crisis.

In the humid heat of the Abidjan campus, in mid-January: a group of students is organizing an adversary debate on the subject: "Can there be democracy in a single party?" Bernard Zadi, assistant lecturer in the Faculty of Letters, considered a man of the left, and Jean Jacques Bechio, member of the steering committee of the Party and recently named economic and social adviser, are the principal animators of this debate, which in the end does not take place. The fact is that a shift in the students' mood was to interrupt it just as the first speaker was beginning to talk.

On 5 February, FRATERNITE-MATIN, the Ivorian national daily, publishes the second installment of an inquiry into the university milieu. It calls the university into question, for certain rash practices "picked up" by certain students. These students, upset, march on the newspaper. This action by some 200 students out of the 18,000 in the Ivorian university is stopped some 100 meters from FRATERNITE-MATIN.

8 February: The jurists' club of the national university holds a conference on the theme "Youth and Politics." The lecturer: Laurent Gbagbo, a researcher

who is known not to share the ideals of the PDCI [Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast]/RDA [African Democratic Rally]. A student and then professor of history and geography, he had participated in strikes in 1967, 1969 and 1971. He had even been enlisted in the Ivorian army, in which he did his military service in 1971-1973, at Seguela in the north and at Bouake in the center of the Ivory Coast.

The university authorities, considering the atmosphere quite tense after the latest incidents, prohibited this conference. The students reacted. The next day they occupied the Rector's office and handled the Rector roughly. The police responded to the Rector's call for help.

A decision by the SYNARES to call an unlimited strike in parallel with that of the students furnished an endorsement of the movement of the latter, who were made to believe that the lecturer, Gbagbo, and the president of the Jurists' Club had been arrested.

The Ivorian authorities' reactions were not slow in coming; they were immediate:

- closing of the university and the colleges of Abidjan;
- evacuation of all university student hostels;
- dissolution of the SYNARES;
- cancellation of higher-education scholarships.

These initial measures were followed a week later by another, one that affected the teachers directly: suspension of their salaries, as a direct consequence of their movement.

#### Privileged Persons

The Ivory Coast was not in its first student crisis. At the University of Abidjan, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1971, etc, were very hot years. But never had the government reacted with such firmness or taken such Draconian measures. What lay behind this new attitude, then--an attitude that did not leave the Ivorians indifferent?

Not without reason, the Ivorian authorities point out that the teachers and the students are the privileged persons of society. The salaries of the former range from CFA 371,000 to CFA 742,000 per month. The scholarships of the latter are from CFA 40,000 to 90,000 per month. Not to mention the training salary for M.A. students still in training, and the assistance allowance, equal to half of the scholarship, granted to the wives of students. While the teachers have free housing, with lease allowances ranging from CFA 120,000 to 300,000, the students pay only CFA 3,000 (single occupancy) or CFA 2,500 (double occupancy) for their residence. They eat for CFA 75 per meal, which costs the state CFA 800. Because the peripheral hostels are sometimes located 15 km from the university, a special transportation service is provided for the students daily, free of charge.

To be complete, we mention that an inquiry conducted by the correspondents of AFRICA in French-speaking Africa showed that the aforementioned conditions provided for the Ivorian students are by far the most favorable in all of Black Africa.

The annual bill for this service is CFA 2.5 billion, borne entirely by the state.

In any case, the Ivorian chief of state has wanted to keep teachers and students in a privileged state, often against the desire of his government and a growing number of cadres in other socio-occupational categories who feel that the austerity should be shared by all. Nevertheless, while the crisis in training and education has served as a catalyst, it does not explain the difficult times that the Ivory Coast has just been living through. What lies behind all these police patrols that plow through the streets of Abidjan day and night? The authorities are formal. They have detected an outside hand in the development of the recent crisis. This posture involves far more than an explanation intended for domestic consumption. Quite to the contrary--there are many who testify to external substructures and interferences in Abidjan's "hot February."

#### The Example of the Neighboring Countries

The political context in the subregion has undergone some notable changes in the last 2 years. Sergeant-Major Samuel Doe seized power in Liberia. And while that country is continuing to seek itself, politically, and while it declares its desire not to become a "satellite state of Soviet expansionism," Monrovia's political evolution continues nonetheless to be regarded with a certain apprehension. Ghana, for its part, with the return of Jerry Rawlings to power, is not just a curiosity but a subject of uneasiness, of preoccupation. And the Libyan pact is indeed more and more present every day. The neighboring countries are familiar with this, and fear that Accra is being transformed into a center for subversion of the subregion. In Ghana everything, including the structures--the people's army, the people's court, etc--bears the mark of Tripoli. How far will Jerry Rawlings' ambitions for "conversion" go? No one knows. One thing is certain, though: the Colonel of Tripoli is fomenting, and fomenting a lot, in West Africa.

Last November, a large quantity of weapons of Soviet manufacture that it was being attempted to ship into the Ivory Coast illegally was seized by Customs. These weapons are of the same type as those used in Ghana at the time of the coup d'etat that toppled Dr Limann from power at the end of December. So the Ivory Coast sees Libya at its doors, without saying so openly. And this apprehension is all the more well-founded in that it is known today, from a reliable source, that there has already been smuggling for several months and that a sizable quantity of weapons has been introduced into the Ivory Coast. And it is mainly for this reason that the Ivorian police are patrolling day and night and motorists are asked to open their trunks.

#### The Libyan Shadow...

Nevertheless, can a relationship be established between the university events and Libya's possible aims against the Ivory Coast? The Ivorian authorities do not make a categorical pronouncement. It is known only that certain teachers have spent some time in Tripoli, and that one of them, Sane, a former professor in the Higher Teachers College, has taken up residence there. He has even



requested, by letter to the supervisory authority, to be put on leave of absence. This new immigrant is added to a list of others who, on the pretext of going to Saudi Arabia to do Islamic studies, have taken up residence in Libya. In Ghana, only a handful of nationals trained in Qadhafi's special camps were needed to force Dr Limann to give up power. The Ivory Coast is therefore distrustful of its "Libyans" and even suspects them of conducting subversive action from Tripoli. They maintain relations with other Ivorians directly or through the intermediary of persons in countries close to the Ivory Coast. And this method does indeed follow from the Libyan approach when that country sets up its infernal machine.

Just after the last OAU summit in Nairobi, from which Libya emerged as the prospective host for the next meeting of the chiefs of state and of government, two hypotheses about that country's attitude were bruited:

--Tripoli was going to settle down and launch a veritable charm campaign in the direction of certain "brother countries" that are hostile to it. The Colonel of Tripoli, engaged in the Western Sahara conflict and caught in the Chad quagmire, had a lot to do to go into reverse. The recent OAU Council of Ministers meeting at Addis Ababa testifies to his African adversaries' determination and mistrust.

--The second hypothesis is that Libya, promoting Islam, was continuing to be the secular arm of Moscow to serve the Kremlin's plan. Such an ambition corresponds better to the strategy of Qadhafi, who, in gaining new clients in Moscow, could have attracted new sympathies in countries whose governments he would have helped to overthrow. The execution of such a plan and the success of it would mitigate the setback of a summit of which it can already be said that it will have the largest number of absentees since the creation of the continental organization.

From this angle, after the takeovers by force in Gambia and Ghana, it is no longer possible to speak of chance events but rather of a plan that could well include the Ivory Coast, precisely because of the personality of that country's chief of state and his influence in the continent. A destabilized Ivory Coast would mean all of sub-Saharan French-speaking Africa's losing, on the world political scene, a major element of its regional stability.

#### ...against a Background of Economic Crisis

And if President Houphouet-Boigny reacted energetically, it is not in relation to the students and the teachers as such but rather in order to counter a crisis in which he sensed the outside hand--a crisis that would have served as the detonator of a disorder which, when all is said and done, nothing on the domestic level would have explained: neither the agitation by the students nor that of their teachers, which pose no fundamental problem in their demands.

The Ivory Coast, of course, is encountering some serious economic difficulties because of the fact that it is suffering the world crisis, with its corollary of price increases for imported products, but also, and especially, with the other corollary of the deterioration of the terms of exchange.



And for this country whose export receipts have dropped from CFA 800 billion to 400 billion because of the unfavorable prices for the predominant products that coffee and cacao are, the internal situation is not so somber as one would have it believed. And it was indeed in order to attract his compatriots' attention to the fact that the state of grace had definitely ended that the Ivorian chief of state called, for last 16, 19 and 25 November, a meeting of the National Council--that is, a meeting of the representatives of all the social classes. President Houphouet-Boigny, with his patience in matters of high policy, listened to the Ivorians for hours as they judged themselves, judged him, and judged his policy. They were frank, with a constructive frankness that made it possible to decide on a series of measures for containing the crisis, for remedying the social "injustices" suffered by certain socio-occupational groups, and especially, for defining the new orientation of the Ivorian educational system.

### Recovery

Among last November's measures, the following should be noted in particular:

--the 10-percent pay increase in both the public and private sectors, representing a new expense of nearly CFA 17 billion for the state;

--the creation of a solidarity fund, financed by a 1-percent levy on pay, was to aid unemployed intellectuals and tutors who have recently lost their jobs. But this measure is intended to be temporary, since the Ivorian authorities' concern is to achieve a veritable economic revival in the coming months, so as to put everyone to work productively;

--the difficult situation of the unemployed intellectuals has led the authorities, at the request of the rank and file, to rethink the Ivorian educational system. After mass education, the results of which are far from flattering, this country has begun to provide itself with the structures of an elitist educational system. Entry into the sixth form has always been subject to a highly selective competitive process, because of the limited number of places available. The BEPC [Elementary School Diploma] will henceforth be the basis for the competition, with elimination of the oral exam for double-check purposes, which will limit any maneuvers aimed at "buying one's way in." Entrance into the sixth form is not automatic. It will henceforth be decided after overall examination, by a jury, of the student's work for the year. The probational diploma, reintroduced some 3 years ago, does not arouse much enthusiasm, but the pupils have no other choice than to cross this new barrier, to go on, in the diploma-preparation course, for a diploma that does not automatically open the doors to the university. For the last university academic year, many diploma-holders went into the CAFOP's [Teachers Promotion and Training Centers], which are teacher-training centers. And there are fewer and fewer students in the diploma-preparation classes than there were a few years ago. The Ivory Coast today wants an educational system that trains economic agents who can be absorbed into the development of the country tomorrow upon their leaving the university or the special colleges.

Another important decision, that which is going to be interrupted with the present school year educational television, a tool for mass education for which the Ivory Coast will have borne the expense. Both on the financial level and

on that of the training of a school-age youth who show weaknesses deriving from lack of mastery of this new technique [as published].

But one of the most significant decisions, because they proceed from the concern to safeguard the agricultural achievements of the Ivory Coast and to enhance them, is the construction and multiplication of agricultural centers, whose purpose will be to receive young school-leavers and give them an appropriate training that will get them to stay on the land. The state will install them on the land and will follow their progress through specialized organisms.

In this way, the Ivory Coast will be able tomorrow to exploit its oil fields while continuing to develop its agricultural vocation. It will thus double its chances for development.

All these decisions are still to be thought through and consolidated, so as to be translated into the field. Nevertheless, their importance and the Ivorian chief of state's determination to make them succeed are so great that it may be thought that the recent National Council resolutions will not remain empty words. But these decisions were taken only 3 months ago. And in the areas termed spectacular, their results are not being felt yet. Whence a certain grumbling, sparked by an inflation that the Ivorians take ill, accustomed, as they are, to easy times. The crisis is there, but is still unverifiable at the level of the consumers.

And in the Ivory Coast, the authorities think that it is not only the crisis that is unverifiable, but also the people--notably the students and even more the teachers, who for a month, calling incessantly and vainly upon the other socio-occupational categories to follow them in their strike, will simply have proved, inside and outside, the good health of the PDCI/RDA, and even more, the great authority of the Ivorian chief of state, who, as a veritable catalyzing element, continues to see concentrating toward him all the forces of a country that is still very sensitive to the notion of ethnic affiliation.

#### The Old Man's "Family Approach"

There has not been for the Ivorian university crisis--presented as a political crisis with external ramifications that made it a destabilization enterprise--the political solution that might have been expected for it.

The president has chosen dialog and the "family approach." This 76-year-old man whose behavior can be understood only by reference to little phrases pregnant with meaning is surprising. When the Ivorian chief of state declares that his people are a family, he is profoundly sincere. And when he is called "the old man," it is both sincere and affectionate. And so sometimes, in order to understand highly political events it is absolutely necessary to leave the pathways of commonly accepted political theory and immerse oneself in the warm and fraternal ambience of a village. Houphouet-Boigny's Ivory Coast is a village. And he administers it as such--in concerning himself about the woman who could be the victim of her husband's error, in taking the impetuosity and generosity of enthusiastic and versatile youth into account, in listening to the words of the village sages, etc. This political rationale, which is not West-

ern, doubtlessly troubles the observers of the Ivorian scene, who will only be more troubled by the solutions applied by the Ivorian chief of state to the university crisis that his country has just experienced.

By ordering the reopening of the university and payment of the scholarships and salaries, including back pay, he is entirely wiping out the aftermaths of a crisis that contained the seeds of a premeditated uprising. Some sanctions have been taken, of course, the most important of which remains the dissolution of the SYNARES. But the whole of the sanctions are a pale reflection of the upheaval that the Ivory Coast experienced throughout the month of February--a month that had days when everything could have gone up in smoke without the lucidity of the Ivorian president. Perhaps it should be understood that for this chief of state, the search for national unity through the weaving-together of 64 ethnic groups that make up the Ivory Coast means that one might have to conquer one's feelings and pardon when others might have wished him to act severely. And the Ivorian chief of state does this all the time, and even teaches it. "One cannot command people when one is incapable of loving them," he likes to say, adding: "I have never desired the death of the sinner; I am for his redemption." This could be the guideline of Houphouet-Boigny's African political philosophy--a philosophy that a good many of his close collaborators have not always understood. This, however, might have kept the political class from losing themselves in calculations or discussions about the future that are not reprehensible in themselves but that have the harmful result of jeopardizing, in a struggle of clans, the efforts made for the last 40 years to build a still fragile nation for which the only real cement remains Houphouet-Boigny.

The "old man," for his part, continues to say that the naming of a vice president is of great concern to him, but he needs to take his time--the time to choose an Ivorian whom his compatriots will accept totally. Faithful to his habit, he is observing, and when the time comes, he will decide. Nothing, of course, indicates that events will develop in accordance with his wishes. But everything leads one to believe that he has not ruled out that hypothesis either. This apparently tranquil man is a political animal. He knows his country and his people better than anyone, and everything indicates today that he will surprise the Ivorians in one way or another at the time that he himself or destiny will have chosen. This force, this charismatic and intangible power that he has, puts several trump cards in his hands. And also a vision of the future that escapes many people. One has to be Ivorian to understand the "feeling" between the "old man" and his people and to gauge its influence. And yet....

Dialogue Does Indeed Exist...

The teachers in primary, secondary and higher education also spoke at the 19 November 1981 meeting of the National Council, to conduct a rigorous analysis of the Ivorian situation.

Their remarks expressed the common concern to participate actively in the recovery of society. They asked, among other things, for:

--a decrease in the number of ministries concerned with the problems of education (there are five of them: National Education, which is concerned with sec-

ondary and higher education; Primary and Televisual Education; Technical Instruction and Vocational Training; Scientific Research; and Cultural Affairs);

--attachment of all institutes and laboratories to the Ministry of Scientific Research;

--the necessity of a selection/orientation system to enable the pupils and students to succeed in function of their capabilities and not to eliminate them for lack of structures to receive them;

--establishment, in the near future, of a training contract between the state and the private enterprises;

--return of out-of-school youth to the land, but on condition that there be a campaign of sensitization to the rural world, a reorganization of its working methods, and a broadening of its possibilities for social advancement.

They also denounced the dishonest civil servants and call for confiscation of illegally acquired goods.

--They suggested that the fund for aid to the PME's [Small and Medium-Size Businesses] be reactive [as published] so as to enable these eminently job-creating enterprises to absorb a sizable number of unemployed persons.

--They stressed the necessity of recovering unpaid taxes and of levying an extraordinary assessment on the big fortunes in order to partly finance the employment/training contracts.

These are pertinent suggestions and criticisms that prove clearly that public platforms exist that enable the Ivorians to express themselves freely. This is a privilege whose importance they do not always fully grasp.

11267

CSO: 4719/787

## CHARGE OF TRIBALISM CITED TO SQUELCH PLAYWRIGHT NGUGI

Paris LE MONDE in French 14-15 Mar 82 p 4

[Article by Jean-Pierre Langellier: "The Misfortunes of Ngugi, or Indigenous Cultures Under Stress"]

[Text] Nairobi--Cultural repression in Africa sometimes assumes hypocritical forms. Criticism, when it is not brutal, can become veiled, almost shameful, but nonetheless effective. The great Kenyan writer Ngugi Wa Thiong'o is again finding this out, to his detriment. Ever since "And the Corn Will Shoot Up," a work which made his reputation abroad until the appearance of "Blood Petals" 5 years ago, Ngugi has established himself as one of the continent's best novelists.

A prolific and "committed" writer whose unpatronizing pen flays the egoism of the new elites, Ngugi experienced official displeasure for the first time in 1977 when he was the head of the literature department at Nairobi University. Detained for a year for having presented to a peasant public--and in its own language, Kikuyu--a social satire denouncing its exploited status, he lost his job and, without abandoning his convictions, retired to his village 40 km from the capital.

A few months ago, after the reopening of his open-air theater--the largest in Africa, he decided to present in Nairobi a musical show which was intended to be more entertaining than didactic, but whose plot would deal with the struggle of a rural community in the 1930's against the forced labor and oppression of the colonial regime. This colonial regime, in order to better control the movement of laborers from one plantation to another, then required that the peasants wear permanently around their necks an identity card--called "kipande"--signed by their employer. Ngugi's play, entitled "Maitu Njugira" ("Mother, Sing for Me") retraces through songs, dances, and mimes this page of Kenya's history, using as its inspiration authentic documentary material. Today's peasants incarnate those of years gone by, because the cast is composed mainly of amateur actors recruited in the villages.

The play was to be presented, with ticket booth closed, on the stage of the National Theater. But it did not happen. In a press conference on Wednesday 10 March, Ngugi told of the lengthy administrative harassment which had



culminated in the cancelling of the presentation. Because of a procedure introduced during the colonial era, the troupe was required to obtain a written authorization, which it had not done. From office to office and ministry to ministry, the director met a wall of silence. Never did the troupe receive any official refusal or explanation. Secret instructions to the National Theater management, a phone call to the university--where 10,000 people watched rehearsals over a 4-day period--and police patrols on the scheduled day of the "premiere" were the only official manifestations.

Evidently, Ngugi causes alarm because his plays are written and played in the language of the country's main ethnic group. In Kenya, only English and Kiswahili have the status of national languages. Ngugi is therefore accused of tribalism. He replies that his presentation expresses the cultural heritage of all Kenyan nationalities, and that his main desire is to be understood by the very poor, at whom his work is aimed. Ngugi says: "The ghosts of the colonial regime seem to return to haunt the narrow circle of the 'haves.'" A simple public scrutiny of Kenya's society, history, and future are enough to worry a government which appears to be terrified of seeing its peasants organize. In Kenya, the foreign theater has free expression, but not ours."

It is true that Ngugi has firm enemies in the corridors of power. Charles Njonjo, minister for constitutional affairs and one of the key men in the government noted for his conservatism, derided Nguigi's books recently, saying that he "deceives the people." He had just discovered, and was shocked, that one of the author's most controversial novels had been one of a number of works given to a school in the electoral district that [Njonjo] represents.

9920

CSO: 4719/708

## COUNTRY'S POPULATION COULD DOUBLE IN 20 YEARS

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 26 Mar 82 p 25

[Article: "Population Crisis Looms in Malawi"]

[Text]

KENYA, with a population increase of nearly 4 percent, has launched a vigorous campaign to check the population spiral. Now comes the news that Malawi is also facing a population explosion.

Closely spaced pregnancies and pregnancies at old age have apparently combined to give Malawi a high rate of population growth. The population grew by 94 percent from 2.7 million in 1950 to 5.3 million in 1975.

The current growth rate is estimated at 2.9 to 3 percent. At this rate the population should double in the next two to three decades.

The Futures Group (FG) from the United States which has just undertaken Malawi's population evaluation, envisages that if the growth remains at this level, the population will more than double by the turn of the century to 12.4 million. The dangers of overpopulation are all too evident for Malawi which, like other Third World countries, is having to increasingly share very limited resources among a growing population.

In recent years, the Government has discouraged rural-urban migration and has actively prevented the proliferation of squatter settlement. Out of 5.8 million people in Malawi, about 90 percent live in

the rural areas, although the annual growth rate of the urban centres is much higher than the rate of growth of the overall population.

About 47 percent of the population is under the age of 15. For every 100 adults, there are slightly more than 94 children. According to FG's report, 3.8 million Malawians are women in their reproductive years and children under five years. And if high fertility continues, the report pointed out, the figure will almost double by 1985.

Although the abundance of land has been used as an excuse for procrastination in introducing comprehensive population control programmes, Malawi's experiences indicate this is no longer valid. Achieving self-sufficiency in basic foodstuffs has been Malawi's major development goal. However, the rapid population increase is seriously affecting the agricultural basis of Malawian development.

To meet the increased food demand, fallow periods have been reduced and new lands are being brought into production which are often less fertile and more apt to deteriorate than older lands. Pressures on the forests are also increasing due to a rising demand for fuelwood and wood products. As a result, erosion is already becoming a serious problem in Malawi.

While Malawi has consistently produced enough food to feed its population, some trends suggest that domestic demand is catching up with production. Exports of maize and cassava, once considerable, are now negligible. Exports of peas and beans also appear to be on a downward trend. And if high fertility continues, Malawi will have to import 800 000 tonnes of grain annually by 1990 and 2.5 million tonnes annually by the year 2000, according to projections.

Meanwhile, the size of the labour force is increasing sharply. Despite growth in non-agricultural productivity, it is certain that other sectors will not be able to absorb most new entrants into the labour force. Rather, new workers must find employment in agriculture. Labour officials anticipate that about 140 000 new jobs will be needed in the agricultural sector each year by 1990 and 196 000 additional jobs each year

by the year 2000.

Previously, Malawi had emphasised the smallholder system of production as the necessary means of increasing total agricultural output. But with continued rapid population growth, less and less land will be available proportionate to the expanding size of the population. Many workers employed on the smallholdings, will make it more difficult to modernise the agricultural sector and produce export crops.

Moreover, food production will have to increase dramatically if Malawi is to remain self-sufficient, and a greater proportion of the land will have to be devoted to the production of foodstuffs rather than export crops. The extraordinarily rapid growth of the population, then, could make it more and more difficult for Malawi to produce enough agricultural surplus to sustain social and economic feature.

CSO: 4700/1057

## MOZAMBIQUE

### BRIEFS

FRENCH MEDICAL EQUIPMENT DONATION--The Information and Research Center on the African and Arab Countries, with headquarters in Paris, has offered the People's Republic of Mozambique medical equipment intended to supply medical units in the rural areas. The material is estimated to be worth Fr250,000 (approximately 1,500 contos). A note from the Health Ministry indicates that the equipment was turned over by that institution's secretary who was a member of the international socialist delegation that recently visited Mozambique. The note also reports that this move is intended to strengthen cooperation relations between the People's Republic of Mozambique and that organization. [Text] [Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 19 Mar 82 p 2] 5058

TV COOPERATION WITH PORTUGAL--Mozambican Experimental Television is establishing contacts with its counterparts in friendly countries with a view to signing cooperation agreements in this special mass communications sector. In this context, a delegation from Portuguese Radio-Television arrived yesterday in Maputo to finalize the cooperation agreement with TVE [Mozambican Experimental Television]; the contract is scheduled to be signed by the middle of this year. The clauses of this accord cover the areas of technical assistance, professional training, and exchange of information and programs between the two agencies. We recall that Mozambican Experimental Television signed cooperation agreements with Hungary and with Algerian television; this cooperative effort is to be extended to include Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. [Text] [Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 16 Mar 82 p 2] 5058

CSO: 4742/267

# FRICTION DEVELOPS BETWEEN DTA, COLORED PARTIES

## DTA Expels Labour Party

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 26 Mar 82 pp 1, 5

[Text]

**THE Coloured Labour Party under the leadership of Mr Barney Barnes was expelled yesterday from the DTA.**

This followed lengthy discussions between Labour Party leaders and the DTA Head Committee until midnight on Wednesday and then again yesterday morning.

The DTA Head Committee also had discussions with members of Mr Andrew Kloppers' Liberal Party and Mr Joey Julius' Democratic Peoples Party.

The letter from the DTA informing the Labour Party of its expulsion was delivered to Mr Barnes at about 5 pm yesterday. The letter was signed by DTA Secretary Mr Johan de Waal and gave no reasons for the expulsion.

Mr Barnes declined to say last night whether it was felt that the Labour Party was unjustly expelled and nor was he prepared to say whether it was felt that the expulsion was illegal.

These matters however had been discussed by the

Executive of the Labour Party, he said.

Mr Barnes said that the Executive is presently informing all the party's branches of developments and decisions will be made thereafter.

He also said that he would handle the matter in detail on Monday when the Coloured Legislative Council meets.

Mr Barnes outlined to The Advertiser last night the history of the problems within the DTA concerning the Coloureds and said these started when Mr Julius was ousted from the Labour Party last year and then along with Mr Kloppers allegedly started undermining the leadership of the Labour Party.

Mr Julius subsequently set up his own party but throughout has remained a member of the Ministers' Council.

The parties of Messrs Julius and Kloppers applied for affiliate membership of the DTA a few months ago but the Labour Party, as a founder member of the DTA, had the right to veto the applications and in fact

did so.

Applications were made again and after further differences, the matter came to a head in the DTA Head Committee on Wednesday night.

Considerable bargaining took place over whom should represent the Coloureds in the Ministers' Council, National Assembly and DTA Head Committee and the form the Coloured parties should take, but no agreement was reached.

The DTA Head Committee then yesterday morning took it upon itself to decide the matter, without the presence of the Labour Party, and chose to ask the Labour Party to leave the alliance.

DTA Chairman Mr Dirk Mudge touched on the matter briefly in the National Assembly yesterday afternoon and said that the DTA was an alliance which had principles and these principles were important in its final decision.

Mr Mudge gave no details.



## Barnes Answers Allegations

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 30 Mar 82 p 3

[Text]

**MORE SHOTS** were fired yesterday in the growing confrontation between the DTA and the ruling Coloured Labour Party — expelled from the Alliance last week.

Chairman of the Coloured Administration's Executive Committee and Labour leader Mr Barney Barnes presented his version of events in the DTA Head Committee meeting leading up to the expulsion last Thursday, accusing various DTA leaders of underhand and self-interested politics.

He answered allegations of financial irregularities in his own Administration, warning "people in glass houses not to start throwing stones".

Mr Barnes was speaking on a motion of confidence in the Coloured Executive and the Labour Party in the Coloured Legislative Assembly.

He answered allegations made against the Coloured second-tier Authority by DTA leaders in the National Assembly last week attacking Mr Max Haraseb, "Ben Baster Africa", as he called the acting DTA President, Mr Alex Woodman, and Mr Charlie van Wyk.

Mr Barnes lashed out at "those sanctimonious politicians in the highest government body in the country, each one with his own political skeleton stuffed with State funds."

When the Labour Party tried to uplift the Coloured community it was accused of overspending and buying votes, and its striving for greater unity amongst the Coloureds was rewarded with expulsion

from the DTA, Mr Barnes said.

### ARMS AGAIN

He criticised Die Republikein for writing that the DTA's arms remained open to the Labour Party on condition that Mr Barnes dropped his demands against his two opponents — Messrs Joey Julius, member of the Ministers' Council and Andrew Kloppe, Liberal Party Leader.

The expulsion of the Labour Party was coupled with an announcement that the DTA would accept Mr Julius' Namibia Democratic Party and Mr Kloppe's Liberals once they had merged.

Describing his two opponents as "the DTA's two political angels", Mr Barnes accused them of being supporters of Dr Ben Africa's efforts to become DTA President.

The days when Coloureds could be dictated to were over, Mr Barnes said.

The expulsion of the Labour Party meant that the "Coloureds will have to come to the rescue of the country."

Mr Barnes named all the concessions he said the Labour Party has made before the DTA Head Committee, in order to resolve the friction between the three Coloured parties, all wanting membership of the DTA.

These were:

- If greater unity was wanted, the followers of Messrs Julius and Kloppe should join the Labour Party.

- The Labour Party was prepared to give up to two of its four seats on the DTA Head Committee to Messrs Julius and Kloppe.

- Mr Julius should leave the Ministers' Council and the DTA should supplement his salary as ordinary member of the National Assembly in order to maintain his standard of living.

- No Coloured should be appointed to the Ministers' Council, to shift the emphasis off ethnicity on the Council.

- A pact must be signed between the Labour Party and Mr Julius that the two groups would not undermine one another.

These conditions were unacceptable to the DTA Head Committee.

Mr Barnes turned on Dr Ben Africa, accusing him of interfering in Coloured politics where he had proved to be a loser in his own Baster constituency.

He also attacked Die Republikein editor Dr Jan Spies for not writing "the whole truth" in his paper, while he serves on the Head Committee and was present at the sitting last week when the Labour Party was expelled.

According to Mr Barnes, Dr Africa had told the Head Committee he had conducted a house-to-house survey in Khomasdal and found that 80 percent of the Coloureds supported Messrs Julius and Kloppe.

Mr Barnes contested Dr Africa's claim, saying that he had not done such a survey and that his allegation was motivated by his meagre support in Rehoboth and his desire to become DTA President with the aid of Messrs Kloppe and Julius.

### ON THE BANDWAGON

Mr Max Haraseb "also climbed on the bandwagon"

attacking second-tier authorities including the Coloureds, while he had a livestock loan of R7 800 approved for himself and also received a State loan of R102 000 to purchase a farm, Mr Barnes said.

In his attack on the Railways in the National Assembly last week, Mr Alex Woodman had omitted to state that his own

son was a train conductor and that he was "too lazy to do his work, and when he runs into trouble with his employers, runs to his father for help", according to Mr Barnes.

As a result Mr Woodman was bringing the Whites of SWA into disrepute, he added.

Mr Barnes answered allegations that no tenders

were called for in the Coloured Administration's purchase of six buses for R340 000. He named the applicants for tenders and said the Tender Board had awarded the tenders.

Similarly, the purchase of TV sets for use in audio-visual teaching programmes in Coloured schools, had been approved by the Board.

### Colored Party Merger

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 2 Apr 82 p 1

[Text]

THE Coloured parties of Messrs Andrew Kloppers and Joey Julius are to merge, it was reported in Die Republikein today.

The parties are the Liberal Party and the Democratic Peoples Party. - The new party will be known as the Liberal-Democratic Party.

The Liberal-Democratic Party will be the Coloured constituent party in the DTA and replaces Mr Barney Barnes' Labour Party.

The Labour Party was expelled from the DTA a week ago.

CSO: 4700/1056

PROPOSED LOW-COST HOUSING FOR COLORED SAID SUBSTANDARD

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 2 Apr 82 p 3

[Text] **LOW-COST housing types proposed by National Building Corporation** Director Gordon Merrington, were described as "primitive" and only suitable for "bushfighters in Zimbabwe who have slept in the bush for 12 years".

Addressing the Coloured Legislative Assembly on his motion calling for urgent State aid to provide adequate housing for the Coloureds, Mr Dawid Bezuidenhout, MEC for Works said: "The new houses of Mr Merrington's are retrogressive rather than a progress for our people. They may be good enough for the thousands of bushfighters in Zimbabwe after 12 years in the bush, but not for the Coloureds."

Came an interjection: "Primitive".

Mr Bezuidenhout disclosed that there was shortage of 892 housing units in Khomasdal and an average from 13 to 17 persons occupied the 1598 existing units in the township - in some cases as many as 30 persons.

Only 607 of these were occupied by owners, and out of the total, 122 were owned by employers of Coloureds.

He urged employers to become more involved with

their employees' living conditions, but rejected the idea of company-owned housing.

Employers should instead provide financial assistance to their staff with which they could erect their own homes. By owning the house, an employer had a hold over his staff, which he could exploit to his own advantage, while employees lived in constant fear of being kicked out on the street if they did not 'toe the line' at work, according to Mr Bezuidenhout.

**IGNORANT**

"It seems that most employers are only interested in the labour of others while remaining ignorant of their staff's living conditions", he said.

Coloureds could not afford to build their houses unaided because of the backlog in fair wage levels, carried over from the old dispensation where people were paid according to their skin colour and not in terms of ability or qualification, Mr Bezuidenhout said.

Up to 45 percent of Khomasdal's residents earned a living in some way connected with the building industry, he claimed.

When the first houses were built in Khomasdal, Coloured artisans received a wage averaging 50 cents

an hour, while the price of a house was on average R3 000, he continued. Today a house's average price is R23 000 while Coloureds' wages in the building industry have not risen in the same measure.

Mr Bezuidenhout said contractors were quick to push up prices on the grounds of cost increases but their employees do not see anything of the higher prices for houses they build, in the form of wages.

**ATTACK**

He went on to attack the Central Interim Government for delaying action on the housing front.

According to Mr Bezuidenhout, the Coloured Administration withdrew its request for funds on housing after submitting its Budget to the Central Government last year.

"We were told to be patient, because plenty of money for housing would be coming in the near future. Two years later, and still nothing has happened," he said.

Now that the Ministers' Council has taken over the third-tier of government, it would have to answer to the Coloured Administration on its promised housing finance through the National Building Corporation, concluded Mr Bezuidenhout.

PROFESSOR: STABILITY COULD OPEN NEW ECONOMIC POSSIBILITIES

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 30 Mar 82 p 7

[Text]

**INTERNAL political and constitutional stability is of the utmost importance for Namibia's position in the international community.**

This is the view of Professor John Barratt, Director General of the SA Institute of International Affairs.

Professor Barratt addressed the annual dinner of the SWA Chamber of Mines in Windhoek at the weekend.

Prof Barratt listed four factors affecting the Territory's current position in the international arena and which will affect the country in the future as it finds its proper place and role in the world.

These are: the domestic situation in Namibia itself, regional influences brought to be bear by the other states on the subcontinent, the role of the West, and of the Eastern Bloc.

Professor Barratt's remarks on the internal factors coincide with considerable change in the domestic balance of political forces.

"If a country is preoccupied with trying to resolve internal divisions, and particularly if these internal divisions are the subject of widespread world attention, then obviously

that country's ability to develop healthy external links and to play a constructive international role is severely limited", he said.

#### STRONG BASE

He continued: "A stable internal political and economic order is the surest and strongest base on which any small or medium power can find its place and secure wide acceptance in the international system."

Prof. Barratt went on to argue that it was not military or economic strength that determined a small or medium power such as Namibia's place in the wider world.

He said "the attention given at present to the construction of a sound constitutional system for Namibia which will be viable and which will satisfy the aspirations of all diverse groups in the population, is therefore fully justified."

There were too many examples of countries moving into independence in the past with unworkable constitutions and attempting to maintain an unviable status quo, for Namibia to proceed along such an uncertain path.

#### ALL-IMPORTANT

"If the new state is to become an international success story rather than a

worse problem for the world than it was before, the process of political settlement and constitution-making is all-important".

Economic and political instability in the region surrounding Namibia encouraged its neighbours to support a speedier solution to the Territory's independence, he said.

A settlement would allow them to devote more attention to resolving their own problems, and it would probably open up avenues to the West for more economic assistance and investment.

Prof. Barratt said: "This accounts for the surprising willingness of the Angolan government during the negotiations to bring influence to bear on the Swapo leadership to accept some compromise, and for the willingness of the same government to discuss with the Americans conditions for the withdrawal of Cuban troops."

#### PRESSURES

Several of the southern African states remain committed to some form of Marxism, however, and this creates further pressures on the regional situation.

While a breakdown in the current negotiations will lead to increased military confrontation, a fair settlement would make possible "new avenues

of communication and trade between SA and these other states, which could only be of benefit also to Namibia and thus create opportunities for wider and more fruitful regional cooperation."

The Western powers will play a more direct role in Namibia after independence, he added, and potential links with Japan will also then become more important.

The US would like to retain a special interest in Namibia, both politically and economically, according to Professor Barratt.

A successful culmination in the US-led Western initiative promises to be a Major foreign policy achievement — perhaps the only one for the Reagan Administration, he notes.

The prize will also be a normalisation of relations with Angola after a Cuban withdrawal.

"That is why American officials are working so hard at it, and they will expect to retain interests in this part of southern Africa if they succeed."

CSO: 4700/1056



## NIGER

### RESUMPTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH LIBYA DEFENDED

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 3 Mar 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Reasons of State"]

[Excerpt] Effective 1 March 1982, our government decided to end its suspension of diplomatic relations with the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyyah. Some Nigerians are said to be "shocked" by this decision, as if the break in relations between neighboring countries that have so many common ties could go on forever.

After all, this ignores the fact that on 18 December 1981, in his message to the nation, the head of state gave people forewarning of this resumption. "Far be it from us," the president of the Supreme Military Council and head of state said at that time, "to reject all thought of normalizing our relations with the Libyan Arab Jamahiriyyah, in the face of all the emotional ties forged by centuries of history, geography, and a shared religious faith. But there are sacrosanct principles to which our nations have freely adhered: honor, dignity, and the national identity of our people. On these [principles] we would not compromise for one second." So if our government has made the decision to resume relations with Libya, it is because those principles, that honor, that dignity have been safeguarded. This was made certain at the time our two countries exchanged emissaries.

Furthermore, we in Niger think that it is vital not to confuse government-to-government relations, which follow a logic of their own, with relations between individuals, which are based on emotional ties. One does not have to delve deeply into the history of international relations to see that instances of rupture followed by resumption of diplomatic relations are not unusual. This is a basic part of the life and sovereignty of states. Some states, in Africa and elsewhere, have had far more serious tensions and disputes. None has ever gone past the point of no return, because above all there are the higher interests of the states and the requirements of relations between their peoples.

So one might well be surprised that anyone should be surprised at this ordinary vicissitude in international relations. One might even wonder

whether those who claim to be surprised were not profiting from the tension that prevailed between our neighbor and us.

As far as we are concerned, we are thinking only of the higher interests of Niger and the Nigerian people, as we do in all our decisions. This being so, we are showing once again our ability to resolve our problems, of whatever nature or size, without the intervention of third parties. This is proof of the maturity of our people, the overwhelming majority of whom are deeply united in thought and action with the Supreme Military Council.

9516

CSO: 4719/687

SIGNIFICANCE OF PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO DIFFA NOTED

Niamey SAHEL HEBDO in French No 307, 1 Mar 82 p 4

[Article by Abdoulaye Boureima: "Peace, Concord, and Unity"]

[Excerpt] Commitment, total adhesion, patriotism: President Seyni Kountche, during a thorough tour of Diffa Department last week, renewed a tradition in which the building of Niger in peace, concord, and unity is a major concern. The head of state, in whose view Niger's future depends totally on Nigerian manpower, believes and considers that "only people who know how to struggle can achieve their aims..." So if the president of the Supreme Military Council (CMS) spent extra time on food supply problems during his stay in Mangari, or laid great stress on health questions; if he was concerned about the water supply for the people and livestock; if he promised an improvement in the economic and social infrastructure; if he paid well-deserved homage to one and all; if, in a word, he urged all the inhabitants of the region to roll up their sleeves and devote themselves to work--it is because he understands the urgency of the need.

He also knows that "a mobilized and organized people should and can conquer on all fronts" to ensure the establishment of a communal society in which all sons of the fatherland, inspired by the same faith, will devote themselves to attaining the common ideal of development.

However, it should be noted that President Kountche's visit to Diffa Department--even though it is described as one of a number of efforts to make contacts, keep people informed, and become informed--does respond to certain political considerations.

The truth is that the Department of Diffa, which covers an area of 140,000 square kilometers and has a population of around 180,000 inhabitants, is adjacent to a country where the political situation is in constant change.

In such a context, the speeches made by the head of state at Goudoumaria, Mainte-Soroa, Diffa, N'Guigmi, N'Gourti, and Bosso can only be seen in terms of unity in cohesion and solidarity in security.

"Who, then, more than we, could want peace and domestic tranquillity in order to plan and build?"

"Who, then, more than we, could want peace and international concord--to see mutual assistance and interdependence established solidly and intensively among governments?" Indeed, Niger, in making peace a recurrent political theme, thereby sets itself against any attempt or threat to destabilize the country itself or any of its neighbors, because we are convinced that there can be no development in a climate of insecurity and anarchy.

Our country, which supports the safeguarding of the people's freedom and dignity, wants only to develop in peace and peacefully, so that it can find the most effective ways to relieve the people from the yoke of hunger and thirst, in order to create the conditions for a physical and spiritual flowering within the context of dynamic structures of leadership and production.

9516

CSO: 4719/687

## NIGER

### AIR NIGER'S OPERATIONS, EQUIPMENT DETAILED

Niamey SAHEL HEBDO in French No 307, 1 Mar 82 p 25

[Excerpts] Opening up lines of communication to the country and its regions, supporting the development of the priority sectors of the nation's economy, and improving safety and the quality of service: these are some of the goals toward which Air Niger, our national airline, is working. From the standpoint of national unification, the airline is fighting hard to win a battle that has had a lot of ups and downs. For example, there was the renovation of its fleet last January, a fleet which henceforth consists of two Hawker Siddeley 748-2 B's. These aircraft, of British manufacture, cost around 6.04 billion [CFA francs]. One of them seats 52 in passenger configuration but can be adapted for more cargo space, while the other, a "combination" version, holds either 48 passengers or all cargo.

The company's efforts had led to the purchase [in 1978] of a Fokker, which very quickly became the company's only "iron bird" serving our principal airports: Niamey, Agadez, Arlit, Zinder, Maradi, and Tahoua.

#### The Fokker Was Not The Solution

But lo and behold, with the Fokker it was almost impossible to carry any cargo, even for passengers. The number of seats has to be limited when serving an airport without a fuel depot. The aircraft has to carry its own fuel reserve. What is more, maintaining the aircraft was costly (the contract stipulated 80 million per year, initially). All this adds up to the fact that the company has shown a loss of 111,000 CFA francs for each hour of flight.

It thus became quite clear that the Fokker was not the development tool the company needs. With the country's economic and social growth becoming evident, we had to adapt ourselves to the situation," says Air Niger's manager, Mr Issoufou Ousman Oubandawaki, in justifying this new purchase of two British airplanes.

#### Zigzags on the Growth Chart

In terms of volume of business, the pattern of growth has not always been consistent. While between 1977 and 1978 the company saw the number of



passengers rise from 15,508 to 23,729, an increase of 53.02 percent, the corresponding increase between 1978 and 1979 was only 17.06 percent; between 1979 and 1980 it fell to -2.36 percent.

With regard to cargo, too, the growth has been uneven: between 1977 and 1978 there was a 69.63-percent increase; it fell to 9.71 percent for 1978-79 and rose to 14.53 percent for 1979-1980.

How profitable have operations been? From 1978 to 1980 there was nothing but losses: a loss of more than 34 million in 1978; a loss of more than 238 million in 1979, and a loss of more than 228 million in 1980! However, the tentative figures for 1981 already show a profit of 19,598,000. Considering that the company's fares and rates remained unchanged until 1979, one might say that the fight to solve Air Niger's problems with equipment, fares and rates, and even management is well on the way to being won.

Air Niger today also promotes the the growth of commerce, cultural exchange, and tourism among the regions of our country.

9516

CSO: 4719/687

## NIGER

### BRIEFS

**EFD-FINANCED PROJECTS**--The Commission of the European Communities has just agreed to provide Fr CFA 2 billion in financing for a project that covers: development of the new Namarde-Goungou area (260 hectares); rehabilitation of improvements at Karma and Karaigorou (300 hectares); the complete rehabilitation of the terracing at Tillakaina (70 hectares). Thus, since the establishment of the first EFD [European Development Fund], and including the startup work at Koutoukale (see LE SAHEL No 2,320, 23 December 1981), more than 1,200 hectares of the Niger valley will have benefited from the taming of the river. In terms of annual production, this will represent 12,000 tons of paddy rice and 1,500 tons of vegetables and fruit. It is worth noting that this new project is an integral part of the "development society" [policy]. In fact, in addition to specific objectives such as reducing the food deficit, diversifying crops, and bringing agriculture and stockraising into closer association, this project puts special emphasis on real, integrated development for the people [in the valley]. These people, estimated to number 18,000, will actually have the resources to join together in cooperatives that are autonomous both in management and financing. Additional steps are planned in the areas of reforestation, food supplies and drinking water, improvement of the rural environment, and the formation of cooperatives. The development work itself is to take 24 months, but operational support will continue for 36 months. The cost will be borne by the fourth and fifth EFD as nonreimbursable assistance. [Excerpt] [Niamey LE SAHEL in French 3 Mar 82 p 1] 9516

**ALGERIAN BUS DONATION**--On Saturday morning Algeria gave Niger a consignment of seven 50-passenger buses. The buses were turned over to Niger at a ceremony that took place at the administrative garage. Among those in attendance were Mr Amadou Mayaki, secretary general in the Finance Ministry, and His Excellency Ahmed Nadjid Boulbina, ambassador of the Republic of Algeria. In his remarks at the ceremony, Mr Amadou Mayaki said that this gift was a symbol of the ties of friendship and brotherhood that unite our peoples, and then added that he "sees in this the strong desire and manifest determination of the Algerian Government to contribute to the strengthening of cooperation between our two countries." Lastly, Mr Amadou Mayaki expressed the sincere gratitude of the Niger Government and asked His Excellency Nadjid Boulbina "to convey to the Government of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic our sincere appreciation." In his reply, Mr Nadjid Boulbina said that the gift is Algeria's contribution to the Islamic conference that our country will soon be hosting. [Excerpt] [Niamey SAHEL HEBDO in French No 307, 1 Mar 82 p 4] 9516

CANADIAN WHEAT SUPPLY--Mr Brah Mamane, the minister of planning, and Mr Guy Edmond Salesse, first secretary in the Canadian Embassy in Niger, signed an accord on 22 February 1982 providing for Canada to supply Niger with hulled wheat whose total value, including shipping costs, is \$1 million, or 245 million CFA francs. The signing ceremony took place at the Planning Ministry. [Text] [Niamey SAHEL HEBDO in French No 307, 1 Mar 82 p 5] 9516

CSO: 4719/687

## OIL GLUT EXPOSES COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC WEAKNESSES

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3374, 5 Apr 82 p 907

[Text]

ONE RESULT of the collapse of demand for oil products has been to expose to the world at large the weakness of the, now virtually monocultural, Nigerian economy, which has long been a cause for concern to interested observers, though even they have at times been bemused by the euphoria produced by petro-naira. Since last year's oil glut became apparent Nigeria has been patently worried about its oil-based foreign exchange earnings upon which it had based expensive development projects. It has allowed its fellow members of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries to consider seriously the possibility that it might have to reduce its prices for oil to maintain a necessary cash-flow, even after having "reserved" a third of the proposed development expenditure in this year's Budget which was based on a revenue estimate for a much lower production rate than in past years.

OPEC grasped that such a move would do immense damage to the Organisation. Before the most recent meeting of OPEC, kites were being flown that Saudi Arabia and other capital-surplus states might lend Nigeria money, at concessionary rates, to make up for the shortfall in sales. In the event no wind was raised and the idea was denied. Instead, Saudi Arabia backed by Kuwait, has chosen to use its muscle — and to cash the credit which it has deserved as a restraining influence on oil prices for the past two years — by letting it be known that it might apply sanctions to oil companies alleged to have reduced their liftings of Nigerian oil unless they resumed "normal" levels of liftings. This would, in theory, have maintained Nigeria's cash-flow without drawing upon Saudi Arabia's reserves, which may not grow this year because of reduced sales of Saudi Arabian oil — there is a real possibility that Saudi Arabia may have to cut production below the level it needs to support its own budgetary spending, because of weak market demand.

Major oil companies, at which the Saudi pressure was said to be directed, have denied that they have reduced their liftings and have said instead that much of the collapse has been because of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation's inability to sell its share of

production — the announcement from Petrobras of Brazil that it has suspended liftings supports this view, as does the experience of 1977-78. This fall in NNPC sales also, on paper, limits the amount which the companies are permitted to lift. It should also be realised that if the companies have to lift oil which they cannot readily sell they are likely to reduce their losses by putting this oil as soon as possible onto the spot market thus keeping spot prices down — last week Nigerian quality oil was fetching less than \$30 a barrel on the spot market, compared with Nigeria's official price of \$35.50, which the oil companies admit having asked Nigeria to reduce. (Elf-Aquitaine has said that it is seeking to negotiate a reduction in its obligations to Saudi Arabia in order to lift more Nigerian oil.)

Saudi Arabia's action on behalf of Nigeria is also an attempt to convert its dominance of OPEC into clear leadership of the Organisation and is thus, to some extent, a continuation of the policy which led it to "overproduce" oil last year to bring the "OPEC hawks" back into line. (Nigeria was one of the first countries to accept the Saudi position.) OPEC is in a weak position and Nigeria is currently the weakest link in the OPEC chain.

The sudden wealth, which the advent of a substantial export of premium-quality oil, followed very shortly by a decade of rapidly rising prices for that oil brought to Nigeria, seriously disturbed the even tenor of the country's development. Twenty years ago Nigeria was a food exporter and was making a reasonable income from a diversity of products whilst growing steadily if unspectacularly; now food has to be imported on an increasing scale and the productive economy has been sadly skewed.

At the same time the oil wealth has produced a massive internal migration to the towns and exacerbated urban problems, as well as harming agriculture. (While the man in the street may have seen some slight benefit from oil the man in the countryside has more likely seen a deterioration in his circumstances, certainly relatively.) In addition the spill-over of petro-naira into the economy at large has initiated a private sector spending spree, which has prompted much of the merchandise importing that put the current account balance of payments so drastically into deficit and also encouraged a smuggling trade which is undermining, and in some cases seemingly destroying, indigenous industry.

The present discomforts of OPEC may gratify some people in the industrialised countries, and give some relief to many developing countries, but they must be recognised as temporary and most certainly not be used as an excuse, much less a reason, for reducing attempts to develop alternative energy sources and to use energy more efficiently. It was, indeed, OPEC pressure which has developed the new non-OPEC sources of oil that are at present making OPEC's position even more difficult than it would be with demand so weak. OPEC pressure did once give an impetus to North-South talks. These latter should neither be left to wither nor drown in a glut of oil, interdependence will be a global necessity long after the oil wells have become mere tales from the Arabian Nights.



PPP GENERAL ELECTIONS CANDIDATES

Banjul THE GAMBIA TIMES in English 27 Mar 82 p 6

[Text]

1982 *GENERAL ELECTIONS*  
P. P. P. LIST OF CANDIDATES

Banjul Central: The Hon. ALHAJI M. L. SAHO  
 Banjul North: The Hon. ALHAJI I. B. A. KELEPHA-SAMBA.  
 Banjul South: ALHAJI M. M. TAAL.  
 Bakau: MR. FAMARA BOJANG  
 Serekunda East: O. J. (The Hon. OMAR AMADOU JALLOW)  
 Serekunda West: ALHAJI A. A. N'JIE  
 Kombo North: MISS NYIMASATA SANNEH  
 Kombo South: ALHAJI N'FAMARA WASA TOURAY.  
 Kombo Central: ALHAJI DEMBO JATTA  
 Kombo East: The Hon. ALHAJI LAMINE KITI, JABANG.  
 Foni West: MR. B. L. K. SANYANG  
 Foni East: ALKALI JAMES GAYE  
 Kiang West: The Hon. B. B. DARBO.  
 Kiang East: ALHAJI J. L. B. DAFTEH.  
 Jarra West: ALHAJI YAHYA CEESAY  
 Jarra East: ALHAJI KEMO SANNEH  
 Niamina: MR. L. B. M'BOGE  
 Lower Fulladu West: MR. MATHEW YAYHA BALDEH  
 Upper Fulladu West: MR. KEBBA JAWARA.  
 Niani: MR. TALIB BENSUDA  
 Sami: MR. K. N. LEIGH  
 Saloum: MR. AMULAHE JANNEH  
 Jimara: The Hon M. C. Jallow  
 Basse: ALHAJI KEBBA KRUBALLY  
 Tumana: ALHAJI MAMADOU CADI, CHAM  
 Kantora: H.E. The Hon. ASSAN M. CAMARA.  
 Wuli: The Hon SAINEY SINGATEH  
 Sandu: ALHAJI MUSA DABOE.  
 Lower Nuimi: DODOU N'GUM  
 Upper Nuimi: Hon. LANDING JALLOW-SONKO  
 Jokadou: DR. M. S. K. MANNEH  
 Sabac', Sanjal: The Hon. ALHAJI SAHOU S. SABALLY.  
 Upper Baddibou: (ILLIASA) KARAMO JADAMA  
 Central Baddibou: DR. LAMIN SAHO  
 Lower Baddibu: KEBBA SINGATEH

SENEGAMBIA

PALIR STATES GOALS, DESIRE FOR INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Dakar LE POLITICIEN in French No 75, Feb 82 p 4

[Mam Less Dia Replies to Letters]

[Excerpts] [Letter] To Mam Less Dia

Mr Editor,

I ask you to give me a straightforward answer to this question. Is PALIR really an anarchist party, or was this story only a new device by your paper to get public attention?

Massamba Seck  
Archivist, Rectorship--University

[Reply] You are not the first Senegalese to ask us whether or not our anarchist movement "P"ALI"R" is a serious organization. The reason why we put the letters P and R in quotation marks is that we are fundamentally opposed to the ideas of Party and Republic. We are anarchists, and we reject hierarchy as being the main prerequisite for producing domination of man by man, police control of freedom, and legalized violation of the sacred principle of equality.

Our Senegalese anarchist movement is serious. It has no need to be recognized by a government whose need to exist it questions. It has assumed, along with its initiatives on the international level, the task of helping to organize the beggars and unemployed, who constitute the overwhelming majority of poor people, of promoting their awareness, and of working systematically to get rid of authoritarianism in our country.

Obviously, this will be a very long-term struggle. Unlike the scatterbrained leaders of other, competing political organizations, we do not expect success in the time frame of 1983 or even the year 2000. This is because we struggle in order to assume power, which is corrupting in its essence and authoritarian by its nature.

Yours in anarchy and sorcery,

Mam Les Dia

Temporary principal coordinator, on a precarious basis, revocable at any time.

[Letter] Dear Comrade,

I am writing to you after reading the "Declaration of Senegalese Anarchists" in AGORA and LE MONDE LIBERTAIRE. I am a member of the "Direct Action Movement" (a federation of anarchists in the United Kingdom, and a member of the International Workers Association (IWA/AIT)).

We would like to establish permanent contact with Senegalese anarchists in order to exchange information and publications. In particular, we would like to know if we can help you in any way, by sending you books, magazines, etc.

We would also like to know whether you have ties with other anarchists in African countries. We are preparing to publish a special international bulletin, and we would like to include your declaration.

Our organization's address is: DAM, 164/166 Corn Exchange Buildings, Manchester, England.

P.S. If you want to establish contact with anarchists of other countries, we will try to put you in touch with them. Please reply to my personal address:

Maryn Everett,

DAM, 164/166 Corn Exchange Buildings, Manchester, England.

[Reply] Dear "Comrade" Anarchist,

We have received your letter and are happy at the surge of anarchist solidarity which it eloquently expresses.

Our anarchist movement, "P"ALI"R," has not tried to obtain a certificate of legality from the Senegalese Government, because we oppose any rule and any electoral system which ends up by installing an authoritarian government.

On the domestic front, we have undertaken to raise the consciousness of the beggars and unemployed, whom Marx wrongly characterized by the contemptuous term "lumpen proletariat."

We are also completing a critical study of the attitude of Marxists-Leninists toward the lumpen proletariat in general.

We are convinced that the revolutionary vanguard in a country like Senegal can be composed only of beggars and the unemployed, who have no interest in assuming power and who do not even have chains to lose in the revolution, since they live in death.

As for our other activities, we are limiting them in the current phase to strengthening our ties with the international anarchist family, and we would

therefore be equally happy to establish permanent contact with you. Our movement is the first and only one in black Africa. We hope to make contact with Japanese and West German anarchists. If your movement could help us in that way, and also send us its publications, the works of Bakunin, Kropotkin's autobiography, and others, we would be grateful.

Anarchist greetings,

Mam Less Dia

P.S. We have no objection to your including our declaration in your special international bulletin. On the contrary, that would help us publicize our existence.

9920

CSO: 4719/722

PLOT AGAINST ANARCHIST PAPER

Dakar LE POLITICIEN in French No 75, Feb 82 p 12

[Article by Mam Less Dia: "Plot Against Our Paper"]

[Excerpts] We can state definitely today, with supporting proof, that some prominent persons in our country, whom we regard nevertheless as friends, are up to their necks in a big plot being contrived against our paper by foreign capital. We prefer to oppose their betrayal, opportunist behavior, and paternal self-importance with supreme contempt. For we have never been, and will never be, lapdogs for anyone. We are aware of our weaknesses, because we make no claim to be powerful. However, we will bear our weaknesses to the end, while continuing to seek our strength in the strength of our people.

If some people try to squeeze us out, to economically asphyxiate us, or to assassinate us in the name of their democracy served with black sauce, this does not surprise us, let alone knock us out. For our paper is strong enough to bend with the first attacks by the latest sorcerer's apprentices. Our paper is committed to a course: that of combat, of struggle without mercy against foreign capital's hold on the national economy. Not anything, or anyone, can divert us from this course.

Our paper is neither on the side of the Socialist Party in power nor against its policy. It neither supports nor opposes any particular opposition political organization.

We believe that those who will not allow us this freedom are nothing but backward elements, false democrats disguised as apostles of freedom. It is sad.

9920

CSO: 4719/722



BRIEFS

SUGAR COMPANY SCANDAL--Radio Ndongolor, monitored at Dagana, devoted its editorial last week to a strange story about dealings in tax-free fuel by a certain sugar company. This traffic, the clandestine station reported, involved only the mere sum of 13.5 billion of our francs (Fr CFA 13.5 billion). This scandal was reported, but foreigners apparently are not worried about the law on illegal profit. What a country. LE POLITICIEN is following the matter closely. [Text] [Dakar LE POLITICIEN in French No 75, Feb 82 p 12] 9920

VIOLATION OF GUINEA-BISSAU WATERS--Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Moustapha Niasse recently went to Bissau, where he was received by President Nino Vieira. According to reliable sources, Mr Niasse was to discuss with the Guinean Government a recent unfortunate incident in which peaceful Senegalese fishermen living in the border area reportedly were the victims. It seems that Guinean border guards fired on sight at these poor fishermen who had violated Republic of Guinea-Bissau territorial waters. If the reports are correct, the border guards should be severely punished. On the one hand, these fishermen have no idea of territorial-waters limits, and, on the other hand, such problems can be solved by means other than the use of weapons. At a time when Simon Malley and other enemies of the heroic Guinea-Bissau people are trying to isolate it, there is no point in that country's creating unnecessary disputes with its neighbors. Senegal and Guinea-Bissau have excellent relations of friendship and cooperation. We therefore believe that all disputes between the two state can be resolved by dialog or diplomatic channels. [Text] [Dakar LE POLITICIEN in French No 75 Feb 82 p 6] 9920

MEETING WITH LIBYAN--An official of a major Senegalese opposition party has met in Paris, in the utmost secrecy, with one of the heads of the Libyan secret services, a person named 'Atiyah 'Abd'al-Rahman. The meeting took place at No 101 of a main Parisian avenue. The right-hand man of the Senegalese leader was later spotted several times at the same location while the Libyan was there. Strange tricks are being plotted, with Qadhdhafi, against our country. [Text] [Dakar LE POLITICIEN in French No 75, Feb 82 p 9] 9920

LABOR UNIONIST TO USSR--GLU President Alhaji Baboucar B. Kebbeh is currently in the Soviet Union attending the 17th. Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions, (UACCTU) [Text] [Banjul THE WORKER in English 22 Mar 82 p 1]

GLU'S WFTU COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP--At the 10th. World Trade Union Congress in Havana, Cuba, the Gambia Labour Union, together with Senegal's CNTS and the Free Trade Union of Senegal all grouped under the name Sebegambia. At the Congress, the Gambia Labour Union which is an affiliate to the World Federation of Trade Unions since 1945, was elected member of the General Council, the highest governing body next to the Congress within the WFTU. [Text] [Banjul THE WORKER in English 22 Mar 82 p 1]

CTUC DIRECTOR'S VISIT--The Director of the Commonwealth Trade Union Council, Mr. Carl Wright, last Friday made a courtesy visit to the office of the Gambia Labour Union and had friendly discussions with the Secretary General Mr. M.M. Cessay, and other officials of the Union. The distinguished trade unionist from Britain was familiarized with our organisation's functions and he too briefed our Executive about the functions of the CTUC. [Excerpt] [Banjul THE WORKER in English 29 Mar 82 p 2]

CSO: 4700/1066

PROFESSOR: U.S. CREDIBILITY AT RISK OVER AFRICAN POLICY

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 29 Mar 82 p 2

[Text]

**THE Reagan Administration will run into heavy weather if it does not succeed in its southern Africa policies.**

This is the view of Prof John Barratt, Director of the SA Institute of Internal Affairs.

He was addressing the local branch of the Institute last Thursday.

The Reagan policy of "constructive engagement" rested on two pillars, Prof Barratt said. These are:

- The achievement of an internationally recognised settlement in Namibia;
- And the demonstration of clearly visible evolutionary progress for the less privileged components of the SA population.

The aforementioned coupled with the Reagan Administration's attempt to get the Cubans out of Angola involves a high level of risk for the US, Prof Barratt said.

If Namibian independence, internationally accepted, is achieved, the Reagan Administration will gain considerable

credit internationally, including Africa, and also domestically. If there is also progress in SA, this credit will be further enhanced.

But if the American initiatives fail, then American relations with Africa will suffer badly. American credibility will also be affected among Western allies, and — very important for the Americans — the Soviet Union will gain inevitably from the failure. Of course, relations with SA will also deteriorate.

On this latter point, it seems there is an awareness within the SA Government of the serious risks for SA too if there is no clear progress on these issues fairly soon, he said.

Prof Barratt argued that there is considerable built-in continuity in American foreign policy on Southern Africa and that the goals of the Reagan Administration are not all that different from the Carter Administration; the real difference lies in the approach and the rhetoric.

Most American policy makers were primarily motivated to create stability in the region and

to protect what they regard as important strategic and economic Western interests.

They do not want revolution and clearly they do not favour marxist governments, but at the same time they do not regard maintenance of the present system (even with some reforms) as a viable means of resisting Soviet encroachment. On the contrary they regard this as an open invitation to communist intervention.

Prof Barratt warned however that the people of Southern Africa should not confidently expect the US to provide ready made solutions for us. In other words, nobody should look to the US for our salvation; the responsibility remains with us in Southern Africa "to take our own chestnuts out of the fire".

"Hopefully, we can do this in such a way as to enlist American support and improve our relations, not only with the US and the West, but also with the rest of Africa", he concluded.

NEED TO MEET U.S. POLICY EXPECTATIONS ON NAMIBIA STRESSED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 24 Mar 82 p 26

[Editorial: "Helping the US To Help Us"]

[Text] South Africa often complains that statesmen abroad give it too little credit for the changes it is making; that there is too little understanding of its fears. That cannot be said, however, for Dr Chester Crocker who guides United States policy on Africa. The Assistant Secretary of State was notably forthright this week when testifying to a Senate sub-committee on security and terrorism. He said that Washington "categorically" condemned all terrorist and violent acts by Swapo and the African National Congress. He could scarcely have been more unambiguous.

Swapo, Dr Crocker estimated, received 90 percent of its military support and 60 percent of its overall support from communist sources. So did the ANC receive comparable percentages. This serves to confirm a pattern already evident from arms captured by the South African security forces.

So does this make Dr Crocker the latest convert to the "total onslaught/total strategy" school of authoritarian thought? Not exactly. His remarks were tempered, as always, with some others about the alternatives to violence: "We seek to strengthen and make more viable the possibilities of peaceful change. In so doing we seek to obviate the necessity for terrorism that some parties ... choose to perceive."

In other words, South Africa must do its own bit towards defusing the potential for violence. America has spelt it out more explicitly on many other occasions--Pretoria must move rapidly towards settling the pointless Namibian impasse, and it must likewise hasten its pace of reform at home. Only Russia, as Dr Crocker notes, stands to gain from keeping southern Africa in turmoil.

Swapo and the ANC both assert that accepting Soviet aid doesn't put them in the Soviet pocket, but the longer they go on accepting it the more indebted they become--and the more inclined to think only of solutions through the gun barrel. In promoting the peaceful alternative, Washington's interest coincides with South Africa's own best long-term interests. With the Reagan Administration we have an unmatched opportunity of support from the West's superpower while we get on with what must be done. That opportunity may not last for ever. It must not be squandered.

## NATURE OF POWER-SHARING EXAMINED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 21 Mar 82 p 32

[Article by Ivor Wilkins: "Will It Really Be Fair Shares for All?"]

[Text]

**HEALTHY** power-sharing — a concept explosive enough to break the National Party and plunge the country into upheaval and confusion — is clearly here to stay.

As the National Party's warring factions go to war over the issue, with the breakaway rebels this week formally laying the groundwork of a new rightwing party, the fact of the new terminology is undisputed.

Exactly what it means, however, is another matter.

That is a subject of intense dispute and, like many concepts central to South African politics, remains wide open to differences of interpretation.

By introducing the term, taboo for so long in the lexicon of orthodox Nationalism, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has undoubtedly opened the constitutional door a rhetorical notch further than it was before.

But, the extent of that advance should not be overestimated.

### Healthy endeavour

The Prime Minister himself has emphasised that he does not envisage introducing Progressive Federal Party policy and this week sources in the National Party confirmed that the plan for power-sharing remains extremely circumscribed.

"Some verligte Nationalists even have difficulty in referring to the plan as envisaged by the party as really being power-sharing at all," said one.

Examination of the Government's position indicates that for power-sharing to remain within the bounds of "healthy" endeavour, it will be more a case of "non-whites" being allowed to participate in a white exercise of power than sharing in the sense the Treurnicht faction fears.

There is no question of the newcomers to the hallowed power club being allowed to assume more than junior membership.

The existing patrons will continue to hold territorial claim to their favourite armchairs and will retain proper precedence in matters of due import.

Assuming — as most observers do — that some variants of the National Party's 1977 constitutional proposals are introduced, the relationship of white to non-white will be unmistakably predominant.

When Mr Botha last year explained his controversial remarks about white domination being Government

policy, he said it was no secret that whites would outnumber coloureds and Asians in the Council of Cabinets — the instrument in the proposed dispensation where power-sharing will be exercised.

The ratio would be 50 whites to 25 coloureds to 13 Indians — and that ratio could only be changed on the consent of a majority in all three parliaments, or more likely in the current nomenclature, chambers of parliament.

That instantly demarcates the extent of the sharing that is likely to be possible in a new deal.

As to the nature of the sharing, this remains more cloudy.

The Council of Cabinets is intended as a forum where whites, coloureds and Asians will deliberate and decide on matters of common interest.

Clearly, it is crucial to determine how "matters of common interest" will be defined.

### Common interest

If the Government intends the dispensation to be more



successful than the aborted Coloured Persons' Representative Council — and obviously it does — it will have to extend the boundaries of common interest far further than it did before.

The Theron Commission found, for example, that the limitations of the CRC's jurisdiction were part of its failure.

"The spheres over which the executive has authority are limited to education, welfare matters, rural areas, settlements and agriculture and local government," it reported.

"The community life of the coloured population, however, extends far beyond these spheres.

"It is a striking fact that the social spheres which are fraught with problems for the coloured population are the very ones that fall beyond the sphere of competence of the CRC and the executive.

## Housing labour

"These include housing, the regulation of labour, health services, townplanning and lay-out, commerce and industry, public safety and the like.

"The CRC and its executive are therefore not in a position to act effectively on behalf of the coloured population group in a large number of matters that closely affect their daily lives."

From those findings, it is clear that if the Government intends any kind of serious "self-determination" for the various groups (a fundamental part of its constitutional policy), it is going to have to come up with a formula that will extend the real influence of each group's executive power.

Comments political scientist, Professor David Welsh, of the University of Cape Town: "If there is going to be any kind of meaningful joint responsibility, the situation is somewhat difficult.

"The different groups are so interwoven and interdependent that the whole exercise of trying to sort out what

But he added: "If white morality and Christianity is what we say it is, we have no choice but to share power with coloureds and Asians.

"It is not practically possible to separate it all." is their own group responsibility is a virtually impossible assignment.

"If one takes the National Party's criteria, perhaps education, health and social welfare and cultural affairs could be divided up, but for the rest, it would seem logical for them to be functions of a single central government."

Explained one protagonist of the Nationalist plan: "We would want to separate as many of the functions as practically possible."

The mechanism for division lies in the essence of the Government's constitutional planning, namely the concept of the much talked about devolution of power.

The Government builds its case from the basis of group area separation.

Separate residential areas remain a fundamental and cardinal aspect of Government policy — one of Mr Botha's declared non-negotiables.

According to the Government rationale, as many functions as possible should be off-loaded down to the grass-roots levels of society, where geographic separation is and, in Nationalist terms, will remain a fact of life.

Those functions, they argue, can therefore be separated on group lines.

These would include matters like education — separate schools is another non-negotiable — health and welfare services, local transport, police and security affairs, and many of the service aspects of administration.

Co-ordination and the broad policy aspects of these functions could be matters of common consultation and decision-taking at regional and ultimately national level.

"The point is," said the Nationalist source, "that on the self-determination levels (the areas of exclusive group concern) the areas of separa-

tion are few and relatively unimportant.

"It is the areas of joint responsibility that are the most important."

These he defined as finance policy, defence, foreign affairs, national transport policy, manpower, immigration policy, and internal affairs matters.

These would be matters for the Council of Cabinets (or its equivalent) in the new dispensation to deliberate and decide upon — and it is obviously through this innovation that the Government intends to address the failings of the past identified by the Theron Commission.

It was also this innovation that enabled Mr Barend du Plessis, the Nationalist MP for Florida, to send the Treurnichtites into squeaks of fright when he said it would be possible for a coloured person to become Minister of Defence or of Finance.

That, at least, is theoretically true — just as, in theory, there was nothing to stop the Council of Cabinets from electing a coloured or Asian State President.

## Group strengths

But, the rightwingers' Victorian swoon was surely unnecessary in the light of the relative group strengths entrenched in the Council of Cabinets.

As one Nationalist conceded: "Because it is theoretically possible does not mean it is going to happen, or that it is even likely."

It is here, in the ephemeral world of theories, possibilities and likelihoods, that the essential difference between the Treurnicht rebels and the Botha Nationalists lies.

According to a Nationalist MP: "Andries and his ilk cling to the belief that a constitution in South Africa can be frozen at its final destination.

"We accept that the new dispensation is a starting point."

## LEFTIST POLITICAL ATTITUDES AT STELLENBOSCH REPORTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 28 Mar 82 p 15

[Article by Ivor Wilkins: "The Maties Swing to the Left"]

[Text]

**STUDENT political attitudes at the University of Stellenbosch — one of the major powerhouses of Afrikaner intellectualism — have moved distinctly left since the 1978 general election, according to a survey.**

In a startling development, the survey finds that more Stellenbosch students support the Progressive Federal Party's policy of a national convention (30,2 percent) than the National Party's constellation of states policy (16,8 percent).

It also finds, however, that notwithstanding their political beliefs which are generally to the left of the Government, most of their support, when it comes to actually casting a vote, remains with the National Party.

But that is not to say support is not shifting.

The survey shows that support for the Progressive Federal Party among Stellenbosch students has almost doubled at some expense to the National Party, while political attitudes generally have sharpened into a clearer polarisation.

This has been at the expense of the New Republic Party, whose support among the students is now virtually non-existent.

The survey clearly reveals that while the majority of students still support the National Party, there is a strain in the relationship.

### Unpopular party

Their political beliefs are

markedly to the left of the policies propagated by the ruling party, suggesting their links to the party remain largely tribal and historical in nature.

The most unpopular party on the campus is the far right-wing Herstigte Nasionale Party, listed by 62 percent of the students as the least attractive.

The survey measures the students' political attitudes from the 1978 general election to last year's general election and finds that support for the National Party dropped from 74,5 percent to 66,2 percent, while support for the PFP grew from 11,4 percent to 19,6 percent.

Those with no preference dropped from 9,2 percent to 8,3 percent.

Support for the NRP and the HNP was 2 percent for each.

Among students whose home language is Afrikaans, the support for the National Party (with the 1978 figures in brackets) was 77 percent (98), that for the HNP 3 percent and for the PFP, 10 percent (5).

Among English speakers, support for the National Party was 19 percent (18), the PFP rose to 60 percent (45) while the NRP got 7 percent.

Where both official languages were spoken at home, the position was: National Party 51 percent (65), PFP, 34 percent (14).

Looked at from a faculty basis, the National Party's largest support group was theological students at 75 percent (down from 94 in 1978), while the PFP drew its greatest support from law students at 42 percent (up from 29 percent).

The PFP's popularity also grew strongly among medical students, from 10 percent to 30 percent.

According to the authors of the survey — J I K Gagliano, H R Leibbrandt and C J Oosthuizen, all from the university's department of political science and public administration — the shift to the left in party preference became more marked when it came to their policy preferences.

Responses to seven policy options presented to the students with no party context attached showed their preference for a more inclusive, negotiating type of alternative.

### Significant support

Where the idea of a national convention received only 12.8 percent support in 1978, it now enjoyed 30.2 percent support.

"Also, other political options to the left of the policy of the current Government received significant support.

"Two policy options that have completely disappeared from the agendas of the political parties in white politics in recent years, namely full integration in a unitary state (4 percent) and the idea of a qualified franchise (20 percent), for example, received more support combined than the constellation of states idea (17 percent) which has been the emphasis during the P W Botha era."

The constellation of states idea was the most popular in 1978 with 35 percent support.

The policy options to the left of the National Party received altogether about 55 percent support from the students, while options to the right of the Government had also shown slight growth.

Where the two rightist options — full geographic separation for all groups, and white political domination — received 8 percent support in 1978, they were now support-

ed by 17 percent of the students.

Broken down into language groups, the policy preferences are even more interesting.

Among Afrikaans students, support for the constellation of states idea grows slightly from 17 to 19 percent, while support for the national convention idea drops from 31 to 29 percent.

## Favoured option

A remarkable 18 percent of the Afrikaans students support the idea of qualified franchise — a policy option no longer offered by any of the political parties.

Among students who use both official languages at home, this is the most popular option, with 31 percent support.

Where 43 percent of the Afrikaans speakers in 1978 supported National Party policy, the survey finds that the figure now is 19 percent.

Where 10 percent supported the national convention idea in 1978, the figure now is 29 percent.

## IMPLICATIONS OF REINFORCEMENT OF SECURITY MEASURES STUDIED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 28 Mar 82 p 35

[Article by Ivor Wilkins: "Where Will This Lead Us? Nobody Knows"]

[Text]

J M COETZEE'S apocalyptic novel "Waiting for the Barbarians" captures the fear of it.

It tells of a deep sense of loss — a society devastated by some unstated calamity from which it has no prospect of recovery and in which all energies are directed to a fearful waiting.

The setting for this grim scenario is a remote and decaying garrison presided over by an ageing magistrate, who administers the district on behalf of a once-mighty empire.

There are stories: "Traders ... attacked and plundered ... officials buried in shallow graves ... shots had been fired ... clashes with border pa-

trols ... tribes arming the empire should take precautionary measures," for there would certainly be war.

As South Africa starts to massively reinforce its precautionary measures, the spectre looms and questions abound.

Beneath the joshing about dads' armies — silver-haired veterans playfully pulling rank while surreptitiously kneading flabby midriffs — is a profound unease about what it really means, this business of 60-year-olds being soldiers again.

It is an unease that spreads through all strata of white society as its menfolk face a military commitment that, from the age of 17, will make the accoutrement of war an integral part of their lives for the next 43 years.

### Verligte coup?

Does some awful fate loom, in which Africa's most powerful industrial state is about to be reduced to rubble and its survivors left to guard lonely outposts?

Is the Government really so pessimistic about the prospects for its political programmes that a huge military mobilisation is all that is left?

Or is this part of the "verligte coup", some clever tactic in which a government already suffused with uniforms and militaristic rhetoric takes the society in a steely grip and rams through political reform?

Cape Town political scientist, Dr Robert Schrire describes it as planning for the "most outrageously unlikely expectation".

And, he argues, it spells doom for reform: any reform programme is going to require enormous manpower resources, which are now going to be sucked up into the military endeavour.

He believes the Government is beginning to take its own total onslaught rhetoric seriously and that, from a foreign policy point of view at least, the planned extension of military service is an "over-reaction beyond all rational explanation".

### Divided

Dr Schrire says the current American intelligence assessments of the Soviet Union show its capability is becoming more and more overstrained, making this sort of response less and less

necessary.

"Baloney!" retorts Dr Deon Fourie, senior lecturer in strategic studies at the University of South Africa.

The Russians might be overstretched if they contemplated another Afghanistan-type invasion in southern Africa, but that was never on the cards.

Their capability for keeping insurgent forces well armed and supplied in the region and stoking up instability, he reckons, is by no means strained.

"South Africa is closing the door before the horse has bolted," says Dr Fourie.

Dr Fourie says South Africa is learning from the mistakes Rhodesia made — "they did everything too late".

On the implications for reform, he says: "Even if the Government were to go overboard on reform and become super-liberals, it would not quell the ANC (African National Congress)."

The Progressive Federal Party is divided over the issue, but after a special caucus meeting on Friday called for a larger and multiracial permanent force to relieve the burden on individuals.

### Convictions

It said there was no need for a total mobilisation at this stage and said the periods of training proposed and the ages concerned need to be reconsidered. The party will call for a Select Committee to examine the whole question of military commitment

before the matter comes up for the Parliamentary second reading debate.

The official view about extensive military service is that it is a small enough price to pay for living in South Africa.

Indeed, similar service is not unheard of elsewhere.

The Swiss system, on which South Africa's is largely based, also keeps its men on reserve until the age of 55, although the total period served is considerably less than that proposed here.

Also in Israel, men serve a compulsory initial period of three years, women two years, and they then remain on active reserve, with annual call-ups, until the ages of 54 and 38 respectively.

South Africa's service demands will thus be similar to Israel's, about which the noted military author Edward Luttwak commented: "No other country asks so much from its citizens and the ultimate logic of the reserve system has been described in words attributed to Yigal Yadin (who reconstructed Israel's army) himself: 'Every civilian is a soldier on 11 months' annual leave'."

In South Africa, the question of military service is inescapably politicised.

Deeply held convictions range from refusal to fight what is regarded as an unjust war, to an unqualified belief that the society must be protected come what may.

## Dilemma

### It May Be a Stop-Gap Deal

IN a certain sense the new vastly increased military service commitments being demanded of South African white men should be seen as an interim arrangement, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said this week.

He asserted it remained the aim of the South African Defence Force to establish a larger, full-time army in which other race groups and white women would also have a greater degree of involvement.

He said the new proposals were based on an information evaluation and an operational

prediction of the escalation of the threat against South Africa in the next five years.

In five years the situation would be reviewed and there might be more changes.

"It is no doubt all of us pray that the situation then will allow the service commitment to be lightened instead of a further burden, but time alone will tell."

Gen Malan said the increased service burden would not be imposed unless the operational situation warranted it.

He said the objectives of the Bill were to provide the De-

The moderate dilemma is that a strong and able defence force should be supported, but only on condition that it provides the shield behind which necessary reform can take place.

There is an argument that the military could become an active agent in the political exercise: that, apart from its traditional roles, it could also take on the job of "nation-builder".

Those promoting the militarised "nation-building" scenario argue that the defence force could become a reflection of the society the Government eventually wants to create.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, has already spoken of the need for a people's army.

So far, apart from a small contingent of volunteers, it is limited to white men and the proposed legislation does nothing to change that.

General Malan has confirmed, however, that consideration was given to provisions for a ballot system for calling up white women and coloured and Asian men, but the SADF turned away from the idea.

In political circles it is believed it would have been untenable to enforce the registration of coloureds and Asians before they had voting rights.

## Flaw

fence Force with the manpower needed in the next five years, spreading the service load more evenly and creating an effective system of area defence with the accent on rural areas.

In broad terms, the Bill provides that:

● All white men from 17 to 60 will have to register for military service.

● The initial two-year period of training for ordinary national servicemen will remain unchanged.

● The service period will be lengthened from eight years to 12 years in which a

But there has been no suggestion of including blacks in the extended military scenario and herein lies the fatal flaw, the psychological short-circuit that threatens most of the Government's plans.

The society the Government apparently wants its Defence Force to mirror is one that accepts there are white, coloured and Asian South Africans in a correspondingly arranged hierarchy.

But its vision of society effectively denies there are any black South Africans.

It is in that fundamental denial that the greatest potential for conflict inside South Africa resides.

## Danger

Thus, while the borders of South Africa, its rural heartlands, its cities and its strategic installations may be ringed with an impressive military shield against external threats, the area of greatest internal conflict is likely to be aggravated, not alleviated, as blacks see their political exclusion perpetuated in military structures.

There is a real danger, some observers fear, that as South Africa looks to its defences, its military — intended as an agent of conflict management — could become part of the problem, rather than the solution.

maximum of 720 days will have to be served.

● Thereafter, servicemen will be transferred to a new Active Citizen Force Reserve for five years.

● After that they will be allocated to the Commando service where they will have to serve for 12 days a year until they are 60.

● Those on the current National Reserve who have never done military service will be taken up in the commandos, first serving a 30-day training period followed by 12 days a year.



## POLITICAL FUTURE OF TREURNICHT, BOTHA SEEN AT STAKE

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 21 Mar 82 p 32

[Editorial: "Enter Dr No and His Ostriches"]

[Text]

SO the vacillating Dr Andries Treurnicht (he would be more appropriately nicknamed Dr Yes, No, Yes-Yes, No) has finally created a vehicle for whites who seek political sand in which to bury their heads.

The formation of his new party is both good news and bad.

Bad, because the verkramppte hoopla that accompanied its creation may give an impression (both outside the country and within, where people of colour must be insulted by its very existence) that organised bigotry is a viable *volksbeweging*.

Good, because the existence of a sizeable opposition on the right may serve to nudge the ruling National Party, purged of most of its paralysing verkrampptes, into a more determined pursuit of enlightened reform.

But we should have no illusions; a large slice of Afrikanerdom, for so long spared by timid leadership from the the inconvenience of addressing uncomfortable realities, will rally to Dr Treurnicht's tatty banner.

Yet in the long term, we believe, Dr Treurnicht will not prosper, and for at least three reasons.

First, his personal record is not

attractive, notable more for indecision and a conspiratorial style than for the charismatic stuff of which true demagoguery is made.

Second, Dr Treurnicht will have trouble positioning himself ideologically between the NP and the HNP, the latter having long had a corner on the true faith of verkramptheid. Any party that tries to provide a halfway station between the two (the *tweegatjakels-politiek* which Dr Treurnicht favours) will struggle to attain a viable identity.

Third, we believe that despite the often disquieting weight of evidence to the contrary, a majority of whites still hunger for two things: moral respectability and a reasonable prospect of survival in a peaceful South Africa.

The policies, such as they are, of Dr Treurnicht's new party offer neither.

Whether Mr P W Botha's party is able to provide that reassurance will depend on his response to the formation of a new adversary. If he fails to adapt to the challenge by truly pursuing reform, he, too, will perish politically.

When all is said and done, therefore, it is the Prime Minister, not Dr Treurnicht, who will be truly tested in the weeks ahead.

BUTHELEZI SAYS BLACKS WILL SALVAGE PM

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Apr 82 p 11

[Text] DURBAN--The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, could rely on the Blacks to salvage his position, because "we do not want the burden of his problems to become the curse of our children", Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu, said here yesterday.

Officially opening the new R7,5-million Mangosuthu Technikon at Umlazi, near Durban, yesterday, the Chief said Whites were in their final political cul-de-sac and the Prime Minister had nowhere to go because his con-federal scheme would not succeed. His constellation of states dream would never materialise.

"This final form of classical apartheid is unattainable. Having purged his Cabinet of dissidents, he is left with total agreement, but an agreement to attempt the impossible.

Within the four corners of apartheid, there is nowhere for Mr Botha to go and as the searchlight of reality illuminates this fact, there will be nowhere for him to hide.

"I want today to do one of those things which as a politician I am so fearful to do. I want to put my political future at stake. I want to say that if Mr Botha has nowhere to go, he can rely on us to salvage his position, because we do not want the burden of his problems to become the curse of our children," said the Chief.

"As Blacks, we have to salvage Whites from the terrible fate that those, who are willing to persist until there is nothing left other than a scorched earth policy, want to impose on all of us," Chief Buthelezi said.

CSO: 4700/1059

## HISTORY OF SPLITS IN NP REVIEWED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 17 Mar 82 p 9

[Article by Patrick Lawrence]

[Text] Dr. D F Malan, a former dominee and editor, broke away from the ruling party in 1934 but took power 14 years later. Dr Andries Treurnicht, another former dominee and editor, is trying to emulate him. PATRICK LAURENCE compares the two situations.

**THE** breakaway of Dr Andries Treurnicht and his band of rebels presents a fascinating comparison with an earlier split in the ruling National Party.

It may also serve as a model for the future course of the current struggle within Afrikanerdom.

The first major split was in 1912 when General Louis Botha precipitated the schism in the old South African Party (SAP) — and hence the formation of the National Party (NP) two years later — by dropping General Barry Hertzog from the first Cabinet.

But the most compelling analogy is that of 1934.

In that year Dr D F Malan refused to join Gen Hertzog in his decision to fuse the NP with the SAP under General Jan Smuts, and broke away to found the *Gesuiwerde* or Purified National Party.

Both the Treurnicht and Malan splits were triggered by attempts by the NP to broaden its support base.

The Treurnicht rebellion was ignited by a crisis within the NP over its planned use of a modified form of the party's 1977 constitutional proposals to co-opt coloureds

and Indians as the junior partners of whites in a tripartite alliance of non-black minorities.

The Malan breakaway was sparked by the amalgamation of the NP and the SAP into the broadly-based party of white unity, the United South Africa National Party, or, as it came to be known until its eventual demise in 1977, the United Party (UP).

Where Dr Treurnicht sees the incorporation of coloureds and Indians as allies as a risk to whites by putting them on the "road to majority rule", Dr Malan feared "premature" unification of Boer and Briton would be the death knell of the younger, less securely rooted Afrikaans language and culture.

The parallels go further, however.

● The rebels were drawn overwhelmingly from one province, the Transvaal in Dr Treurnicht's case and the Cape in Dr Malan's.

● The number of MPs involved was roughly the same, 16 for Dr Treurnicht and 19 for Dr Malan.

Moreover, the strategy adopted by the rebels was essentially the same: to present themselves as the true custodians of NP policy, and the NP leadership as deviationist and willing to compromise principle for apparent political gain.

In Dr Malan's case, the strategy was proclaimed in the choice of name for the breakaway party, *Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party*. The message was that Gen Hertzog's NP was no longer pure, having been contaminated by English jingoists and Afrikaner *hensoppers*.

Those who like to wring the last drop from historical analogies may find further intriguing similarities.

The splits more or less coincided with gold-related financial troubles. In 1934, South Africa was still recovering from its initial decision to remain on the gold standard, a decision which resulted in a disastrous over-evaluation of the South African pound in relation to the British pound. The financial backdrop to the Treurnicht rebellion has been the falling price of gold.

Two potentially strong politicians hovered in the background in both cases: Mr Tielman Roos, who resigned from the bench to campaign for devaluation of the South African pound in the case of the Malan split; ex-President John Vorster, who has publicly backed Dr Treurnicht, in the case of the present split.

The comparison thus far is favourable to Dr Treurnicht. It suggests strong parallels between the Treurnicht revolt and that of Dr Malan.

who, as Treurnicht men would no doubt hasten to point out, came to power only 14 years after going it alone.

But, unhappily for the Treurnicht camp and for near prognostication, there are marked and important divergences between the two situations as well as some points of similarity.

The Malanites constituted a proportionally bigger force of MPs in relation to the Hertzog-Smuts alliance (19 out of 116) than Treurnicht MPs in comparison to P W Botha loyalists (16 out of 142).

But, more important, Dr Malan succeeded where Dr Treurnicht failed: he kept control over the Cape NP as a launching pad for his fight whereas Dr Treurnicht was ousted from the Transvaal NP.

Another critical difference was the alliance between Dr Malan and the secret but powerful Broederbond. Dr Malan joined the Broederbond in 1933, the year before fusion. Gen Hertzog denounced it in 1935, the year after fusion.

In a hard-hitting attack, Gen Hertzog castigated the Broederbond as a self-elected elite in "unholy" alliance with Dr Malan and slammed it for arrogating to itself a monopoly of patriotism.

Dr Treurnicht, of course, is a former chairman of the Broederbond, but that is no guarantee that he will take the Broederbond with him. His successor, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, is a Botha loyalist. The present chairman, Dr Carel Boshoff, has not declared his loyalties unequivocally in the present *broedertwis*.

The best Dr Treurnicht can hope for is that he will take some Broeders with him. But a re-enactment of the 1934 situation where the Broederbond threw its full weight behind the rebels is extremely unlikely.

Mr Botha is not going to invite a Broederbond-Treurnicht pact by attacking the Broederbond. Rather, he will almost certainly try to use it to propagate his adapt-or-die reformist position in Afrikanerdom, in the same way as Mr Vorster used it under Dr Viljoen to prepare the way for changes in sports policy.

Dr Malan secured the support of large sections of the Afrikaans Press, which at present is attacking Dr Treurnicht in no uncertain terms. A former editor of *Die Burger* in the Cape, Dr Malan had the backing of that news-

paper from the start. In 1935 the Malanites secured control of *Die Vaderland* and in 1937 they founded *Die Transvaler* under the editorship of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd.

Dr Malan had the support of intellectual and cultural buttresses of Afrikaner nationalism: the Afrikaans universities (the Afrikaner Studentebond was founded in 1933 when exclusivist Afrikaner student leaders broke away from the more broadly-based National Union of South African Students), the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings* and the prototype Afrikaner industrial union, *Die Spoorbond*.

Today the commanding heights of these or similar institutions remain in the hands of Botha loyalists and Dr Treurnicht faces a tough struggle before being able to wrest even one of them from his political enemies.

The old fusion UP of Gen Hertzog and Gen Smuts was an amorphous body of men which included within its ranks conservative Afrikaners loyal to Gen Hertzog and a medley of Smuts men ranging from the "negrophile" Mr Jan Hofmeyr to hardline supporters of "King and Empire".

It was ideologically diffuse and vulnerable to attack by the Malanites, who stood unequivocally for Afrikaner nationalism, republicanism and racial segregation.

While there are still verligte-verkrampte tensions in the present NP, the Treurnicht rebellion has left it relatively homogenous and definitely more so than the UP of Generals Hertzog and Smuts.

To that extent it is less vulnerable to ideological attack.

The *Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party* of Dr Malan gained many supporters because it secured for itself the reputation as a *volksparty* and *volksbeweging*.

The 1930s and 1940s was a time of insecurity for Afrikaners: a fifth of the volk were classified as poor whites by the Carnegie Commission and Afrikaans had been an official language for less than a decade at the time of fusion. It formed, in short, a congenial environment for a *volksparty*.

It is a betting certainty that the Treurnicht men, like Mr Jaap Marais' *Herstigste Nasionale Party*, will try to win Afrikaner votes by presenting themselves as the true *volksleiers* in the face

of the "apostates" in Mr Botha's NP.

But, as a leading Stellenbosch University academic, Dr Hermann Giliomee, has shown, Afrikanerdom has advanced economically and diversified markedly since the 1930s and particularly since the National Party captured power in 1948. To that extent it is much less susceptible to emotional cries about volk and nasie.

Thus rather than concentrate on ethnic appeals to Afrikaners per se, the Treurnicht rebels will be forced to focus their attack on the "neo-liberalism" of the NP, as manifest by its willingness to subscribe to "healthy power-sharing" with coloureds and Indians.

But whether that can turn the electoral tide against Mr Botha — as distinct from slowing it down — in the way Dr Malan turned it against Gen Smuts, is doubtful.

It is instructive to recall that Professor Lawrence Schlemmer has estimated total electoral support for the combined Afrikaner Right-wing, the Treurnichtites, the Mulderites and the HNP, at between 22% and 24% only.

In the past, Afrikaners resisted attempts to recruit coloureds as the white minority's allies because they feared it was really part of a plot by the "English" and the hensoppers to end Afrikaner hegemony by augmentating their numbers with coloured voters.

To quote Dr Malan: "Non-Europeans were not only enfranchised but were set against Afrikaners. That imperialistic interest still exists in South Africa and still employs natives and coloureds to beat down (Afrikaner) nationalists."

But it is unlikely that this fear still exists in its pristine form. Even before the advent of Mr Botha as premier, a branch of the Broederbond voted in favour of representation of coloureds in Parliament while a commission headed by an Afrikaner recommended it formally.

There may still be disagreement about methods, but there is an increasing consensus among Afrikaners on the need to incorporate, and co-opt coloureds, Indians, and — on stricter conditions — "moderates" in the black community as the political and military allies of whites.

## CP CONSIDERING IMPEACHING SCHLEBUSCH

## Political Involvement

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 6 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jaap Theron]

[Text]

THE Conservative Party is considering seeking the impeachment of the Vice-State President, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch.

Mr Daan van der Merwe, CP spokesman on constitutional affairs, said last night this was because of Mr Schlebusch's "repeated involvement in political affairs."

Mr van der Merwe said that he could not commit his party in advance with regard to what action would be launched against Mr Schlebusch.

But he made it clear that the possibility of calling for the impeachment of the Vice-State President was among the steps being considered in CP ranks.

Mr Kowie Marais of the Progressive Federal Party indicated to The Citizen yesterday "the PFP would most probably not go for the kill" with regard to Mr Schlebusch's political actions, mainly because the "PFP preferred not to take sides in the present battle between the CP and the NP."

The Citizen understands that the official

Opposition was, among others, rather considering calling for a cut-back in Mr Schlebusch's salary — a matter which is also up for consideration next week under the Prime Minister's Vote.

Mr van der Merwe, who was chairman of the NP's study group on Internal Affairs before the split in NP ranks and under whose chairmanship the 1977 Constitutional proposals and subsequent draft Bill had been discussed, said the CP had taken notice of Mr Schlebusch's speech before the Junior Reporters and also of his actions on two occasions after the split in the NP ranks, both issues which he said had been politically motivated and which would be taken further by the CP.

"We would certainly take up a standpoint during next week's debate with regard to the Vice-State President's participation in public political debate," he said.

**Challenge**

"We would also challenge Mr Schlebusch's version of what has

happened and what was said in the NP caucus and other inner circles of the NP on power sharing and we would also challenge him to state whether he has made his controversial Pretoria speech in liaison with the Prime Minister".

In the meantime other Cabinet Ministers yesterday agreed with Mr Schlebusch "that it was common knowledge that the 1977 Constitutional proposals contained elements of power sharing."

They include Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Internal Affairs; Mr Hennie Smit, Minister of Post and Telecommunications; and Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order.

Mr Le Grange said that to him, power sharing "formed the core of the 1977 proposals."

"I myself have said it in party circles and in the caucus."

"I have repeatedly discussed the elements of power sharing in it with Dr Connie Mulder, who at the time was leader of the Transvaal NP," Mr Le Grange said.



## Constitutional Prohibition

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Apr 82 p 6

[Editorial: "High Office"]

[Text] **THE ROW** over Nationalist policy, which has split the party, has drawn both the Vice-President, Mr Schlebusch, and the former State President, Mr Vorster, into the arena.

We don't think either should be involved, Mr Schlebusch because he occupies a post that should be free of public controversy and Mr Vorster because he is out of public life and should remain so.

Of the two, Mr Vorster's intervention is more understandable if no less questionable.

Mr Vorster resigned from the State Presidency because of Info.

His great contribution to the country's stability and progress over the 13 years of his Premiership was cast aside by the Info-hunters and the people within his own party who used Info to further their own personal ambitions.

For the most part, he shrugged off the personal attacks made on him and gave up the Presidency with the dignity of a true leader who puts the interests of country before person.

Occasionally, he did venture to say things that were seized upon by his opponents as a veiled reference to present Nationalist policy, but he avoided openly taking sides in the storm brewing within the party.

When the rift finally came, he backed Dr Treurnicht and the breakaway Nationalists, saying he wholeheartedly supported "their rejection of power sharing in any form."

Now he has intervened again, in response to Mr Schlebusch's claim that even in the Cabinet of Mr Vorster the National Party's 1977 constitutional proposals contained elements of power sharing.

Mr Vorster states emphatically that during his Government he, the present Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and other leaders made a strong stand against power sharing.

### Identified with CP

Since his policy has been questioned, we suppose Mr Vorster wished to put the record straight, as he sees it.

On the other hand, he appears to have been drawn increasingly into the Nationalist controversy, to the point where he is becoming openly identified with the Conservative Party's cause.

That might have been excused if he were only a retired Prime Minister, but he is also a retired State President — and that office should not be involved in controversy during or after an incumbent's term.

Mr Schlebusch, we feel, has no excuse for taking part in the row even though, as Minister of the Interior in 1978, he was chairman of the commission which drafted the Government's Constitutional Bill and this was instrumental in bringing about the legislation.

He is also ex officio chairman of the President's Council, which is considering new constitutional proposals.

Nevertheless, the Vice-State President, like the President, is bound by the Constitution not to involve himself in party political affairs or political controversies in general.

This, on the face of it, he has done, by supporting the Prime Minister's interpretation of National Party policy and claiming, among other things: "No Minister, Deputy Minister or Nationalist MP who served (during the period 1977 to 1979) can rightly claim that he did not support power sharing, least of all members of the Cabinet that formulated and/or approved the decisions."

Dr Treurnicht states categorically, however: "I never supported it."

Whichever side is correct, the fact remains that Mr Schlebusch had no right as Vice-President to enter the controversy.

There is even talk of the Conservative Party considering impeaching him.

We agree with the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, that "there is an urgent need to clarify the position of the Vice-State President as soon as possible, otherwise his position and prestige could increasingly become an issue of party political dispute."

The danger is that if the row involving Mr Schlebusch becomes too heated, he may have no alternative but to resign — as Mr Vorster did in his own case.

## SECURITY POLICE RELEASE SEVEN DETAINEES

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 27 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by Anne Sacks and Justin George]

[Text]

**SECURITY Police released seven detainees yesterday morning, another is expected to be released today — and three have been charged under the Terrorism Act.**

"Several" detainees have been transferred to Section 12(b) of the Internal Security Act. Security Police gave no further details.

The clause allows for the detention of possible State witnesses, but the Transvaal Attorney-General can order the transfer of detainees at his discretion.

The seven released spent up to six months in solitary confinement in terms of Section Six of the Terrorism Act.

They are Dr Liz Floyd (detained 28/11/81), a medical doctor and girlfriend of trade unionist Dr Neil Aggett, who died in detention, Mr Morris Smithers (23/11/81), of the Environmental Development Agency, Mr Nicholas "Fink" Hayson (28/11/81), a former president of the National Union of South African Students and now with of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr Colin Purkey (26/11/81), a researcher and part-time University of South Africa student, and Wits students Mr Keith Coleman (24/10/81), Mr Clive van Heerden (24/10/81), and Miss Debbie Elkon (26/11/81).

The detainees expected to be released today — Miss Rene Roux — has been receiving treatment in the Johannesburg Hospital since mid-February for potassium deficiency. She is a project worker at the SA Institute of Race Relations.

Most of the former detainees spent last night with their families, except Dr Floyd,

whose Cape Town-based parents are on holiday in Plettenberg Bay.

Dr Floyd is staying with Johannesburg friends, who said she was adjusting to her release.

Relatives said the former detainees were well, some were tired and others exhilarated.

But the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) said last night it could not rejoice until all detainees were released — it was not concerned with individual detainees or their relatives, but with all the more than 160 South Africans in detention.

"While we are naturally pleased for those who have been released, we feel anger at the senseless waste of months and months of their lives.

"We are also concerned about the scars left by their brutal ordeal of solitary confinement and interrogation.

"Our thoughts are especially with the accused and those still languishing in detention and their families."

And the Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu) said last night it welcomed the release of the detainees, but was outraged they had been held for so long.

"That they have been held for such a long period in situations which have led to the death of one detainee and the admission to hospital of numerous others is further confirmation of the unjustness of detention without trial.

"We are also horrified that other detainees, including prominent trade unionists, have been held for so long without being charged."

Fosatu's statement called for the immediate release of all detainees and the scrapping of detention without trial.

The medical faculty of the University of the Witwatersrand will discuss on Monday how Miss Elkon, a fifth-year medical student, can make up the 12 weeks of classes she has missed.

# THREE DETAINEES CHARGED UNDER TERRORISM ACT

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 27 Mar 82 p 1

[Text]

THREE detainees were brought to court yesterday and charged under the Terrorism Act — after several months in detention.

Miss Barbara Hogan, Mr Alan Fine and Mr Cedric Mayson appeared briefly in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday. All were returned to the cells after the appearance.

They were charged under Section 2(1)(a) of the Terrorism Act. No details of the charges were available. The prosecutor, Mr W J Hanekom, said the Attorney-General had said bail could not be granted to the three in terms of Section 12(a) of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Hanekom asked for the case to be postponed until April 30. Miss K Satchwell, who appeared for the three, agreed to the postponement.

Shortly after the three were led into the dock, 10 uniformed policemen marched in and stood in a row between them and the gallery.

Several plainclothes policemen were stationed around the court.

Miss Hogan, Mr Fine and Mr Mayson smiled and waved at relatives and friends who packed the public gallery.

All three looked pale but were obviously delighted at seeing friends and family after their long isolation in solitary confinement.

Miss Hogan and Mr Fine were detained on September 24 last year. Mr Mayson was detained on October 27 last year.

All three were held under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act for the first two weeks and then re-detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

Mr Mayson's two children, who were at first sitting with their mother, Mrs Penny Mayson, on benches against the wall just below the magistrate's seat were confronted by a court orderly before the case started and told to leave the court.

Mrs Mayson and her children then moved into the public gallery but were followed by the orderly who again told the children to leave as they were under age.

Mrs Mayson tried to reason with him but he was adamant and threatened to inform the magistrate. Then Dr Hendrik Koornhof, father of detainee, Miss Hannchen Koornhof, intervened with a "For God's sake, it's their father (Cedric), please cool it".

The court orderly then left them.

CSG: 4700/1065

# CHARGES OF BOTHA COALITION WITH PROGRESSIVES DISCUSSED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 27 Mar 82 p 7

[Article by Herman Giliomee: "Coalition: PW's Only Real Hope for Reform"]

[Text]

With the Nationalists' centrist faction in the ascendancy and a bitter Rightwing fight ahead the Prime Minister needs the pragmatic Progs, Professor Hermann Giliomee, of the department of history at Stellenbosch argues, and assesses the chances of this happening.

**THE** proposed reorganisation of South Africa's defence system and large-scale extension of military service may become a fundamental turning point in our political history.

While the average white South African male still lived like Frenchmen or Danes in respect to military service, it was easy to forget about our political crisis. Faced, however, with the prospect of doing military service for two or three months a year, a fundamental questioning will begin as to whether enough of the necessary political reforms have been implemented to diminish the security threat and decrease the need for military service.

While there will be general acceptance that the approximately 800 000 freeloaders should from now on do their share of military duty, it is doubtful whether the Government could effectively embark upon the new scheme without a degree of co-operation from the Progressive Federal Party and the business community which far transcends the normal in peacetime.

In fact, it is the kind of co-operation that is difficult to envisage in our society, with its deep political and ethnic cleavages, without something approaching a political coalition.

Of course, the fact that South Africa will need a coalition does not mean that it will come about. Coalitions occur in systems like ours only when the "organic crisis" of a society is deep enough, as that most sophisticated of 20th-century Marxists, Antonio Gramsci, has put it.

But even if such an organic crisis exists there does not emerge spontaneously what Gramsci calls a new "historical bloc" — a new ruling alliance and the reorganisation of the political system. It must be constructed. New programmes and new policies must be created pointing to a new sort of settlement. Coalition simply does not happen because all "sensible chaps" decide to come together.

Except to the complacent it should be obvious that the organic crisis of the South African state will deepen in the next three years. None of our fundamental problems will be resolved — the absence of meaningful political rights for blacks aggravated by the citizenship issue together with black unemployment and staggering rural poverty which cannot be alleviated without lifting influx control.

The organic crisis of South Africa will also be compounded by the Government's strategy for reform. Even genuine reformists within the National Party tend to believe that the disfranchised must be brought into the political process in distinct phases. According to this view, the coloured people and Indians must first be brought into the political system and then, after whites have become accustomed to this, the issue of black political rights can be addressed.

I believe that this is the most dangerous reform strategy that the Government can embark on and that in the end it will prove to be extremely counter-productive. Nowhere is this made clearer than in a recent



report of Lawrence Schlemmer based on the most comprehensive and sophisticated attitude survey yet undertaken in South Africa. It is published as volume four of the Buthe-Bezilezi commission report.

The question was asked what would happen if only coloured people and Indians were given the vote without any representation for blacks in the central government. Only 13% of the Indians and only 24% of the coloured people saw any merit in this. Asked what would happen if such a policy was indeed implemented, more than 90% of the coloured people and Indians indicated that they expected black resentment, violence and political instability.

This suggests that even if the Government granted these groups representation together with whites in one House of Parliament one would have extremely nervous coloured and Indian parliamentary representatives with some threatening from the start to resign soon unless blacks were also brought in.

The response of coloured people and Indians on this issue should be read with some other findings in the report. They suggest that in the last decade and particularly in the last five years there has been a dramatic shift in black political attitudes.

Compared to the apathy and sense of defeat of the early Seventies blacks have become much more assertive and aggressive politically. They manifest a strong tendency to accepting violence and giving aid to the ANC as legitimate actions if reform is not forthcoming. It cannot be said loudly and often enough that there is a new spirit of revolution in the black community. Revolution is not inevitable but it is in such a climate that revolutions occur — except if rising aspirations and expectations are met.

What are the chances of that? All the present signs are negative. With the new centrist faction under Mr F W de Klerk in the ascendant and a bitter fight with the Rightwing ahead, the National Party leadership seems set to expend its political capital on reform pertaining to coloured people and Indians.

There is little in the pipeline for blacks. Everything points in one direction: the kinds of reforms that could prevent black discontent from erupting will not be forthcoming in the next two or three years.

It should by now be clear that it is only through a political coalition that measures such as freehold for blacks, financially self-sufficient community councils and the abolition of passes can get the required majority against the Rightwing opposition both inside and outside the National Party.

What is the chance of such a coalition between the reformist wing of the NP and pragmatic faction of the PFP? Not much at the moment. There is no member of the Cabinet who is seriously contemplating coalition. Indeed one expects that in the next year or two the National Party leadership,

in fighting Dr Treurnicht, will try to put as much distance between it and the PFP as possible. The initiative for coalition will have to come from forces outside the National Party.

The first force is the PFP. It has become increasingly necessary for this party to assume a style more assuring the whites who are anxiously considering the prospects of power-sharing. Secondly it should move in a more determined way from the politics of protest to the politics of power. Not enough is done to counter its negative image among Afrikaners. Its organisation still leaves much to be desired. Its financial position is far from that of a party poised for a breakthrough.

Yet the split in the National Party poses the opportunity for such a breakthrough should the PFP resolve all these problems. Assuming a split National Party-Conservative Party (and HNP) vote, 10 predominantly Afrikaans constituencies in the Transvaal may be within reach of the PFP, according to party strategists: Randburg, Rosettenville, Noordrand, Maraisburg, Waterkloof, Pretoria East, Sunnyside, Springs, Turffontein and Jeppe. Only if the PFP can demonstrate its popularity among the Afrikaner electorate will the National Party pragmatists start considering coalition with their counterparts in the PFP.

Secondly, there is the business community. Here the greatest problem is the lack of political acumen and a coherent political strategy. With a few notable exceptions, like Mr Chris Saunders of Natal, they seem unable to move beyond wondering whether Mr P W Botha will do his thing and start building more stable political structures that will safeguard a wider system of growth and welfare.

A prerequisite for more sophisticated business participation in the political process is a political policy and strategy think-tank of high credibility and expertise. Such a think-tank will become indispensable if business wants to ride out the political and economic storms that lie ahead. Crisis management of the present system is not enough; a new equilibrium structure must be built.

Lastly there is Inkatha, led by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. Any successful coalition reflecting a new balance of forces will ultimately have to include Inkatha. Without Inkatha the black community councils will never get off the ground. The political vacuum in the black townships and rural areas will spread, which in the long run will only benefit the revolutionaries and increase the amount of military service required of whites. But a coalition with Inkatha is impossible before the pragmatists in the PFP and National Party get together in a coalition. That is why those working for peaceful change and economic growth should make it their first priority to build such a coalition.



## CONSERVATIVE PARTY TO TEST STRENGTH IN GERMISTON

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Apr 82 p 9

[Text]

THE Conservative Party will test its strength against the National Party at the polls for the first time at a provincial by-election in the Germiston District constituency.

The by-election, caused by the resignation of the sitting Nationalist M.P.C., Mr Ben van den Berg, is expected in September.

Germiston District was regarded, until Dr Treurnicht's rebellion earlier this year, as a safe Nationalist seat.

NP candidates have been returned unopposed at successive general elections and by-elections since 1977, when a P.F.P. challenge was decisively beaten off.

But, at the coming by-election, the Conservatives will definitely put up a candidate to oppose the NP. Mrs Bessie Scholtz, M.P. for the constituency, told The Citizen yesterday.

Mrs Scholtz, one of the 16 Nationalist M.P.s who quit the government party to join Dr Andries Treurnicht in February, said the CP was still building up the organisation in the constituency and had not given any thought yet to the question of possible candidates.

But she said indications were that a majority of Nationalist supporters in Germiston District sided with the Conservatives.

The 60-strong Nationalist divisional com-

mittee in the constituency had split equally on the breakaway issue, she added.

Mrs Scholtz said that there had been no political motive for Mr Van den Berg's resignation as the M.P.C.

He had been offered a major business appointment which required him to give up his involvement in public affairs, and he had resigned both from the Provincial Council and from the Germiston City Council of which he had been a member.

"As far as it was possible to judge his attitude, my impression was that Mr Van den Berg's political sympathies were with the Conservative Party," Mrs Scholtz said.

## ...And Dr T Aims At Natal

THE newly established Conservative Party of Dr Andries Treurnicht has set its sights on Natal. The party is expected to be officially launched in Natal at a rally later this month.

Dr Treurnicht will address the meeting in the Durban City Hall on April 21. The chairman will be Mr Brendan Willmer, of the South Africa First Campaign.

Branches of the CP are already being established in Natal. At a recent meeting of party workers, members of seven branches of the National party in Durban attended.

Branches of the CP have already been formed in Newcastle and Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg will address a meeting there on April 28.

A founder member of the CP in Natal, Mr A P du Plessis, told The Citizen that a capacity crowd was expected to attend the rally in the Durban City Hall.

"The hall can seat 2 500 but we are hoping that between 3 500 to 4 000 people will attend," he said.

## UNCERTAINTY CAUSING NAMIBIA WHITES TO MOVE SOUTH

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 6 Apr 82 p 6

[Article by Johann Van Heerden]

[Text]

**WINDHOEK.** — Prolonged constitutional uncertainty, the ravages of drought and a world-wide economic recession have mapped out a rough passage for SWA/Namibia in the year ahead.

While international negotiations, begun nearly five years ago, carry on to secure independence for the territory, many Whites are moving southwards across the Orange River to South African pastures.

The number of SWA/Namibian Whites has dropped from 90 658 in 1971 to 71 530 last year — a decline of 21,13 percent, according to preliminary census figures confirmed to Sapa by an official source.

Judging from the number of houses now offered for sale in local newspaper advertisements, the situation is worsening.

#### Uncertain

Every skilled worker who moves away from the country leaves 88 unskilled labourers without jobs, says Mr Johnny Hamman, outgoing chairman of the Windhoek Afrikaanse Sakekamer.

He blames White departures on political

and economic uncertainty.

Last week, the SWA/Namibian Minister's Council announced renewed drought relief totalling R30,5-million to be distributed mainly among White, Baster and Nama farmers in Southern SWA/Namibia, where continuing drought has reached disastrous proportions.

"This setback to the economy can lead to depopulation of the south unless the State intervenes," said Mr H J von Hase, a member of the Ministers Council.

The scheme has been designed principally to save livestock, said Mr Jannie de Wet, a member of the executive committee of the administration for Whites.

Drought in South Africa closely affects the cattle industry in SWA/Namibia.

"We have been asked by the South African Meat Board to cut back on imports to the Republic," said Mr Horst Kreft, manager of the Meat Marketing Board in the Territory.

Fears that the drought will interrupt supplies to meat-processing factories have caused local firms to be granted permission by the SWA/Namibian Meat Board to import

beef carcasses from overseas, mainly from Ireland.

Some of the meat unloaded at Cape Town harbour has since appeared on the South African market, prompting an investigation into allegations of fraud.

The alleged irregularities are confined to South Africa. There have been none in the territory, Mr Kreft told Sapa. Worsening economic conditions have led the pro-Government Republikein newspaper to speculate that people will not only have to tighten their belts when the Budget is presented later this year, but much less money will be available for funding of the territory's second-tier ethnic authorities.

The chairman of the Minister's Council, Mr Dirk Mudge, has to budget this year with R200-million allocated to SWA/Namibia by South Africa's Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, in his appropriation tabled in Parliament last month.

The money does not include expenditure on defence and security.

Inside SWA/Namibia, political friend and foe generally agree that whatever government comes to power after

independence, the territory will have to rely considerably in the foreseeable future on South Africa's economic strength.

It is thought unlikely that any other world power will want to step into a possible economic breach to be left South Africa, even if allowance is made for a reduction in the Republic's estimated expenditure of R1-billion to be brought about by an end to hostilities in the northern zones.

### Ethnic

In the last session of the SWA/Namibian National Assembly, members of the majority party in the House — the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — severely criticised expenditure by ethnic administrations.

Some ethnic leaders have been accused of living in opulence, far beyond the financial means of the country and the people whom they represent.

The institution of ethnic government, ironically, has been a mainstay of DTA policy.

There are 10 ethnic authorities in SWA/Namibia — the territory's first inhabitants, the Bushmen, have opted for direct administration by the central government — in addition to the Minister's Council, the Administrator-General, and several government departments ruled from South Africa, as well as some 40 political parties.

The intricate interim government system has caused seasoned political commentators to observe that SWA/Namibia's 1 035 000 people must be the most awesomely governed subjects in the world.

Some of the territory's political parties exist little more than in name only, but they are accorded equal

status with other parties in negotiations with representatives of the Western contact group concerned with the territory's future.

"One-party State is undemocratic, but a multitude of parties is chaotic," said a West German opposition politician, Mr Franz Josef Strauss, who visited Namibia last week.

Economic circumstances in the territory are ruled by extraneous influences and there is unlikely to be revival over the next 12 months in the largest single industrial sector, mining, says Mr Craig Gibson, outgoing president of the SWA/Namibian Chamber of mines.

High levels of inflation and low economic growth, combined with cuts in expenditure imposed by governments throughout the world, have caused a drop in demand for mining products, he said.

Mining accounts for 50 percent of the gross national product and SWA/Namibia is often described as "mineral rich".

Mr Gibson reports on the territory's mineral prospects: copper prices are continuing to weaken and last year dropped 8 percent below 1980 prices. There is no indication of significant improvement this year.

Lead sold at 6.8 percent lower in 1981 than in 1980, which in turn was 30 percent down on the previous year. There is no sign of improvement in 1982.

### Against trend

Zinc has gone against the trend and the average price rose 29.4 percent above 1980 prices. The metal is dependent on car manufacturing and the construction industry, and it is expected that the price of zinc will drop this year.

Silver achieved re-

cord levels in 1980, but last year the price dropped 40 percent.

Tin declined 2.8 percent last year, but the market has been sustained by support buying which is unlikely to continue indefinitely. A shrinkage in price is expected this year.

Diamonds again experienced weakened demand in 1981, due to the world-wide recession and reduced purchase of stones in diamond-cutting centres. Sales of lower-value categories were satisfactory, but the market for more expensive diamonds remained depressed.

The De Beers group reduced production to an extent. At Oranjestad, CDM closed one of its four conglomerate treatment plants in mid-1981 and ceased mining operations in an adjacent area. There was also a temporary curtailment of tonnages of ore mined. Market problems are unlikely to ease this year.

Uranium depends entirely on the use of electricity. Lower growth in electricity consumption in some countries has slowed demand for uranium oxide. Strengthening of the market depends on increased international economic activity. It is expected that current low prices will persist through 1982.

"The mining industry contributes about 50 percent to the gross national product and it is clear that if the industry suffers a setback, the impact will be felt in other areas of the economy," Mr Gibson says.

"I may have painted a rather gloomy picture of the economy in the short term, but I believe there is considerable underlying economic strength and potential.

## TRANSVAAL SEEN RALLYING BEHIND TREURNICHT

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 21 Mar 82 p 15

[Article by Bennie Van Delft]

[Text]

**THE TRANSVAAL is going to rally behind Dr Andries Treurnicht, declare itself an independent republic and drive all its blacks south into the Cape.**

This awesome view of the latest political developments comes from the reeds of Riksdalersplaas, a coastal community where the weather and sales tax have more bearing on life than anything that happens in the ruling National Party.

On the main road between Albertinia and Mossel Bay, on the Cape south coast, a gravel road turns off to the cluster of smallholdings collectively known as Riksdalersplaas.

There are no road signs. And as far as maps are concerned, the place does not exist.

But by following carefully the instructions from the locals of Albertinia, travellers can find it — if they don't get stuck in the sand on the way.

The homestead of the Van Zyl brothers — Dan and Koot — is reached after opening and closing three farm-gates.

The normal needs of modern life are virtually non-existent... there is no electricity, no schools, and no shops. You name it, and the chances are they have not got it.

Like most of his fellow-farmers, Dan van Zyl, 63, has lived in the area all his life.

And like all the others he has little time for anything as remote and abstract as politics.

"We don't have time to fool around with such stuff," reckons brother Koot, 61.

## Doesn't matter

That does not mean that

they are totally ignorant of what is happening in the political arena, but they view such explosive events as the Nationalist split with a quaint rural detachment.

They seldom see newspapers, and the radio is their main source of information.

"Yes, I have heard something that some big shots had resigned from the National Party.

"But the politicians are clever people, so they will know why they have resigned. I really would not know their reasons," said Dan.

When told that Dr Andries Treurnicht was the leader of the breakaway Nationalist group, it rang a bell with Dan.

"Oh yes, I have heard his name somewhere, but I have no idea what he looks like.

"I have seen pictures of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd and Mr P W Botha, but never of Dr Treurnicht.

"It does not matter, anyway. We were a family of eight children and we have always voted for the same party, the Nationalists. And I am not going to change that after all those years."

Brother Koot obviously knew more about politics.

"I have heard over the radio that Dr Treurnicht was a dominee before he went into politics," observed Koot, adding sagely: "And a dominee should know what he is doing."

The bachelor brothers, like most of their fellow-farmers, make a living by cutting reeds for thatch and keeping a few cattle.

Their livelihood is an all-consuming occupation, which leaves little time for pondering the intricacies of national affairs.

"Politics is very simple," said Dan. "If you don't understand it, you don't understand it — finish and klaar.

"Why should I break my head over something when smarter people than I are still struggling after all those years to solve our political problems?"

The brothers, nevertheless, agreed that it might be a good bet for Dr Treurnicht to return to the pulpit and preach the gospel rather than politics.

A neighbour, Mr Freek de Jager, 51, was slightly more up to date with political developments, and he offered some homespun philosophy to the Prime Minister.

"Maybe, Mr P W Botha should have been a bit more

patient," he said thoughtfully.

## Bloodbath

"If you have a team of oxen and one becomes difficult, you don't get rid of the ox just there and then — you re-educate him, so that he pulls in train."

Mr de Jager has, however no doubt what will happen if Dr Treurnicht should become Prime Minister.

"If Dr Treurnicht has his way there is bound to be a bloodbath, because you cannot simply push people away. Surely, other races are entitled to get their share.

"Mr P W Botha is doing the right thing — he should give and take, but he should be careful that other people don't grab his whole hand."

Mr de Jager said, judging from the mood of his relatives in the Transvaal. Dr Treurnicht has growing support in that province.

It would not surprise him, he said gravely, if the Transvaal declared itself a republic and then chased all the blacks into the Cape.

"That is exactly what the Transkei and Ciskei are doing at the moment," said Mr de Jager.

## Too busy

"I have great admiration for what Mr Botha is doing for us, although I am not saying that he is without fault."

As an example of his reservations about Mr Botha, Mr de Jager quoted the increase in sales tax.

"But even if Dr Treurnicht promises to do away with sales tax, I would rather pay up than vote for him.

"We have no choice but to share with others — otherwise we have no future any more," said Mr de Jager.

Mr de Jager said he would welcome the opportunity to talk to Dr Treurnicht.

"I will debate with him until the leaves turn brown. It might just help to make him see sense."

Another veteran of Riksdalersplaas, Mr Esias Oosthuizen, said he could not care less about what happened on the political scene.

"I have heard that some politicians had left the NP, but I cannot remember their names.

"I don't know who is right or wrong, but I suppose they know what they are doing.

"As far as I am concerned, I have enough problems of my own to worry about the problems of others. Anyway, politicians get paid a good salary to worry about their affairs."

CSO: 4700/1065



IMPACT OF NP SPLIT ON AFRIKANERDOM EXPLORED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 21 Mar 82 p 32

[Article by Fleur de Villiers: "Eyes Right!"]

[Text] Fleur de Villiers examines the stresses caused in Afrikanerdom by the launching of Dr No's new party

**I**T was the moment of truth and it had been a long time in coming.

But now, for the first time, Nationalists were accusing Nationalists of all manner of horrendous things. And not merely in the comparative privacy of caucus or committee, but in that most public of arenas — Parliament.

It was broedertwis at its most bitter, and by the time the debate on a Bill to lift Group Area restrictions on blacks joining sports clubs had run its course this week, there was blood on the floor and the wounds ran deep.

It was not merely that the Treurniets could accuse their former benchmarks of a dreadful revisionism, that Botha loyalists could in turn accuse them of bad faith in reneging on a Bill which they had helped to draft, or that both could score personal points with an abandon that would make a streetfighter blush.

**T**he moment was more important than either the personalities or the issue,

for it brought home to all the reality of a rightwing opposition in Parliament, which now occupies that corner of the political spectrum which has hitherto been the exclusive preserve of the National Party.

For 34 years it has claimed that corner as its natural home, even as with monumental slowness it began to ooze towards the centre.

Now at last it has been cut off from its base, and no matter how much the party strategists and conservatives may long to return home, they cannot.

The Treurniets have squatter rights on that piece of political real estate and cannot be evicted.

Which leaves the National Party stranded somewhat uncomfortably in the middle and denied access to the true-blue Verwoerdianism with which they could comfort any confused conservatives still within their ranks.

But if this week in Parliament the first skirmish in what will certainly be a

protracted and bloody battle made that much clear, if the National Party has finally been edged reluctantly out of apartheid's corner, confusion still reigns supreme about where and how fast it will go from here.

Talk to three Botha loyalists and one gets three different versions of both the immediate past and the future — their replies coloured in equal measure by fear and hope.

The split, says one, had nothing to do with ideology — but a great deal to do with Mr Botha's unlovable personality.

Only when and if the Prime Minister goes, will the healing by that Band-Aid politician Mr F W de Klerk begin.

**H**ow can there be talk of ideological differences, he asks indignantly, when Dr Treurnicht's executioner, Mr Chris Heunis, was also the man who recently in Cabinet put paid to the idea of freehold for urban blacks — simply because he knows that his followers won't accept a permanent black pres-

ence in the Western Cape? followers won't accept a permanent black presence in the Western Cape?

Another disputes that view vehemently.

There is enormous relief that Andries and his men have left home. The conservatives who remain within the ranks have been rendered harmless, he says.

"The snake has lost its head."

**B**ut, he adds, careless of the contradiction: "We must stop the haemorrhage, we must deny Andries his agenda."

That, he explains, means reaching back to the 1977 constitutional proposals as a basis for "healthy power-sharing".

The final goal must be coloureds, Indians and whites in a common parliament and on a common voters' roll.

"But we cannot frighten the voters by jumping in at the deep end."

And so it will be an ultra cautious beginning which, he admits, will satisfy none but the most conservative.

A third is more realistic.

"Andries," he concedes, "has the emotional advantage and the NP could lose a lot more seats."

"But if it puts its case clearly, if the Prime Minister moves quickly down the path of reform, we could regain the vote of the disaffected youth and persuade more English-speakers to come on board."

His hope is tinged with vast relief that the Andries men have left.

"The divisions have gone, there is far more openness in the party. At last we feel like a team."

And, he adds, there can be no turning back.

Eternal peacemaker,

Mr F W de Klerk had the door slammed in his face at Thabazimbi and Lichtenburg and even he has accepted the finality of the break and is beginning to show an uncharacteristic aggression in the face of the snub.

On such small signs and signals do Nationalist MPs' hopes and fears for the future rest.

And there is a sense, as one wanders from green carpeted office to green carpeted office, of a confused and embattled band, taking what comfort they can from each other, but knowing that the real battle is taking place somewhere out there and beyond their control.

In church councils and school committees, in teacher's organisations and Rapportryers clubs and wherever public servants meet to vent their grievances and their grudges.

That political powerhouse, the NG Kerk, can no longer be described as the National Party at prayer.

Its top structure dominated by Koot Vorster clones, and with election to the all-important post of Moderator of the General Synod coming up later this year, the candidates are outbidding each other in their *verkramptheid*.

The reason is not far to seek.

"No candidate can identify himself too closely with Mr P W Botha and win," I was told.

And the whispering campaign against the Prime Minister is well under way.

The Hervormde Church has already swung in behind the Treurnicht men, the Transvaalse Onderwysersunie cannot be far behind. And Sabra is Dr Treurnicht's virtually by right.

Verligtes cling to the hope the Broederbond can be depoliticised by a new tolerance towards "andersdenkendes" — a measure of how hope and wishful thinking can provide an escape hatch from an unpleasant reality.

**M**r Botha's only weapon in the battle for the Afrikaner establishment now raging outside the corridors of Parliament is the Afrikaans Press and its potency should not be underrated.

With the exception of one or two small Perskor newspapers who have given the rebels adequate and sympathetic coverage, Dr Treurnicht is without a mouthpiece.

But the battle on the Perskor board and in the SABC between the Treurnicht and Botha supporters is far from over — and shows every sign of getting a great deal nastier before it is resolved.

If Mr Botha is to win the battle for the Establishment he must confront the Treurnichts.

The law that operated in Parliament this week that two parties cannot occupy the right operates just as strictly outside it.

But how far can and will he move to put a healthy distance between him and his erstwhile colleagues?

Political observers, both within and outside the party he rules, believe that he can only justify his "breker" image by moving further and faster than his courage would appear to allow. Only then can he avert the fate of all parties caught irresolutely in the middle — a persistent crumbling to both the left and the right.

But will he? The signs are not good, especially

when one considers the cause of the rumpus — the long-awaited President's Council recommendations.

**N**o-one will admit to having had sight of them, but theories are thicker on the ground than leaves in a Cape winter.

Neither does the council itself show signs of becoming an effective instrument in the hands of a Government which wants to hack its way through apartheid's undergrowth and into the future.

The National Party, a Nationalist observer says wearily, is trying desperately to turn itself into an instrument for reform.

"The only trouble is that it lacks any idea of what that reform should be".

And, he added, the courage to shed itself rapidly of the burden of its own past.

If that is indeed the case, and the Botha NP decides that now is the time to hasten more slowly than ever, then one question remains:

What will happen to Mr Botha and the party he leads when the disillusioned Nationalist voter perceives, through the dust of broedertwis, that Mr Botha has inspanned an elephant merely to pull a toy plough of reform?

The answer should give the Prime Minister as many sleepless nights as the nightmare of a Treurnicht triumphant.

PROFESSOR MARREE DENIES EXERTING POLITICAL INFLUENCE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 6 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Jaap Theron]

[Text]

PROFESSOR Hennie Marree, rector of the Pretoria Onderwyskollege, yesterday rejected claims by certain newspapers he had politically influenced students at the college.

He also considered as "amateurish" allegations that the college had closed its doors for certain political parties with a view to canvassing political support among students.

Approached for comment on Saturday's front-page report in Beeld, which among others, stated that Prof Marree's "political influence on his students would soon be discussed on high level," and with regard to the local Nat MPC, Mr BDT, Boeshoff's, "instructions from high level" to investigate political developments at the college, Prof Marree made the following statement:

"I fully understand and I have sympathy with certain people who have problems regarding the effects the present "corrugated-road politics" have on people.

"But nevertheless I find it strange that certain people want to consider certain matters on a high level, where certain alleged swings to the Left and Right were taking place.

"It will, however, be a pity if such political nervousness gives reason that people cannot differentiate between an individual's professionalism and his practising of 'health' democratical rights.

"If the allegations in certain newspapers had any substance, I can foresee that investigations by various political parties will follow on so-called high level, because it was a fact according to reports, that students at various students campuses were swinging either to the Left or to the Right.

"I am not aware of the so-called major swing to the Conservative Party on the campus of my college, but I have to stress that I do not interfere with my students' political and religious choices.

"I believe that the students are, like other citizens, entitled to a freedom of choice and I have full faith in their sound judgment as adult and responsible citizens.

"With regard to allegations that it was difficult to get permission to use the campus for political purposes. I must state that everyone who has applied during my time as rector was accommodated on the date of their choice, providing it did not clash with a major student meeting.

"Mr Jan van Zyl, MP for Sunnyside, was the only person, I can remember, who was refused the use of our main hall some time ago — especially because our college's Rag Queen was crowned in the hall the night Mr Van Zyl wanted to use it.

"Mr Peter Nixon of the PFP and the NRP speaker have both used the hall."

CSO: 4700/1059

HARRY OPPENHEIMER PRAISES BUTHELEZI

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Apr 82 p 13

[Text]

DURBAN. — The new R7.5-million Mangosuthu technikon at Umlazi would benefit not only the Umlazi area but the whole of South Africa, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation and De Beers, said in Durban on Saturday.

Handing over the institution on behalf of the donors, Mr Oppenheimer said that in all large business organisations the policy should be that they should concern themselves with the environ-

ment in which they were situated and then endeavour to improve that environment.

The technikon was a very important project and would contribute not only to the area in which it was situated by the whole country.

Although the Technikon was initially for Blacks only, it would eventually be a non-racial institution.

The interests of Black South Africans had been neglected and it was now necessary to take steps to allow them to catch up.

"For the time being this must remain a Black institution — it is a matter of catching up," said Mr Oppenheimer.

The Mangosuthu Technikon was something which had grown from Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's efforts, and it was therefore only right that the KwaZulu Cabinet should decide to give it his name.

The chief was more than a leader of KwaZulu, said Mr Oppenheimer. He was also one of the very great South Africans.

CSO: 4700/1059



# BLACKS WARNED NOT TO RELY ON WESTERN SUPPORT

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 29 Mar 82 p 22

[Article by Gibson Thula: "Don't Depend on the West to Champion Blacks' Cause"]

[Text]

**Most black people in South Africa now realise that they themselves must secure their own emancipation and liberation, says Gibson Thula.**

There was a time when black people set great store by support from Western countries. For many years after the founding of the ANC, for example, there were attempts to ask Britain to intervene diplomatically on behalf of blacks in South Africa. By the forties and particularly the fifties, however, it was realised that these were vain hopes.

Today most black people realise that the Western countries, no matter how antagonistic to apartheid particular governments may be, are not going to actively and aggressively champion the cause of blacks in South Africa.

Black people who take note of the international scene realise the following things:

- Trade with South Africa is too important for most Western countries to make it possible for them to do any-

thing which could weaken the export market to South Africa or reduce the flow of raw materials and agricultural goods.

- Most Western countries do not place a very high priority on race reforms within their own boundaries. Almost all Western countries with black minorities have maintained housing and welfare policies for blacks which have done little to rehabilitate these black minorities. Their policies more often than not have amounted to passive neglect, under the guise of not wishing to do anything that would "discriminate" between blacks and whites.

A few years ago, a study in Germany, Holland and Britain conducted by Professor Theodor Hanf at the Bergstrasser Institute in Germany showed that the attitudes of European whites

towards blacks in their countries were much the same as the attitudes of English-speaking whites towards blacks in South Africa.

- Black people also realise that it is only really the pressure on Western nations, and probably on Eastern bloc nations as well, that makes them take a firm verbal stand against apartheid.

There would probably be much less opposition to apartheid in the northern countries if there was not an active and insistent Afro-Asian bloc in the United Nations.

- Furthermore, apart from some unrealistic fringe groups among blacks, black people in South Africa realise that there is in fact very little that Western nations can do to have a quick and sweeping effect on the

system in South Africa.

Black people here are aware of the strength and resilience of the white-dominated system. We realise that it would take more than sanctions or boycotts from the West to change it. We realise that only very active intervention by outside countries could have a radical effect and that none of them would be prepared to or could afford to go to such lengths.

For these reasons, blacks who are reasonably well-informed do not any longer respond to overseas figures who are opposed to apartheid with anything like the enthusiasm that was or would have been the case years ago. Even as late as the sixties, when Bobby Kennedy visited South Africa, there was a great deal of hero-worship among blacks.

His tour of Soweto was very well-supported by enthusiastic black crowds. The same would not happen today.

I would sum it up by saying that all or most black groupings in South Africa today realise that black people themselves have to secure their own emancipation and liberation.

This does not mean to say that the organi-

sation I represent, Inkatha, is unconcerned about the attitudes in the West. There is one thing in particular which concerns Inkatha a great deal. This is in fact a problem which the West's own inactivity in fighting apartheid brings about.

As I see it, the intention of most Western countries is to avoid any costly action or intervention in regard to South Africa. This gives them a problem of credibility among the Afro-Asian bloc. They try to counter this in two ways.

First, by verbal attack on apartheid which mean very little. Some countries also try to "correct" their image, in some cases, by making grants or appearing to be sympathetic to radical black groups operating in southern Africa like Swapo or the external mission of the ANC. They then give more moral support to some black liberation groups than others.

It is fairly typical for them to overlook the importance of Inkatha, for example, while over-emphasising the role of the ANC external mission. This amounts to a kind of interference in South African black politics which is quite serious in its consequences.

It is particularly true

of some church groups and their voluntary organisations opposed to apartheid. The very sense of helplessness which their governments' ineffectiveness causes in them, makes them "over-react" as it were by being as fashionably radical as they can with regard to South Africa.

Fashionable radicalism usually means under-rating the internal black leadership in South Africa and heaping accolades on the militaristic movements, quite irrespective of how successful these movements are likely to be in the short to medium term.

Inkatha's message to the Western countries, therefore, is simply the following: Inkatha realises that sanctions and boycotts are impracticable. It also realises that a peaceful strategy is important to explore to the full before considering violence.

If the Western countries feel unable to make any dramatic intervention in South Africa, the least they can do is admit this and attempt to be as helpful as possible to movements such as Inkatha, devoted to exploring peaceful change for us for as long as possible.

## SHARPEVILLE SHOOTINGS COMMEMORATED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 22 Mar 82 pp 1, 2, 3

[Text]

**THOUSANDS** of people throughout the country and elsewhere in the world yesterday commemorated the Sharpeville shootings of 1960, when 69 people were killed and about 200 injured by police bullets.

In Sharpeville about 100 people attended a service at the St Cyprian Church. Other services were held in Alexandra, Pietersburg, Durban, Cape Town, East London, Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein.

Services were also held in other major centres of the world, including New York, London, Paris, Maseru, Lusaka, Dar-es-Salaam and Manzini.

In Soweto, about 800 people at the St Hilda's Anglican Church in Senaoane heard speaker after speaker urging blacks not to allow their ideological differences to breed hatred among them.

Mr Tom Manthata, of the Soweto Committee of Ten, said: "Until we learn to be grateful to our forebears who have died in

the struggle, we cannot make much progress in achieving their goals.

"The only way in which we can show our gratefulness is by taking up from where they left off when they died by the bullet in Sharpeville, marching forward in unity."

Another speaker said there is a lesson blacks can learn from the way Zimbabwe gained its independence.

"It was when the crunch was coming that Zimbabweans decided to shelve their differences by uniting. If they had not done that, they would not be free today," the speaker said.

Amid praises of the leadership of the late PAC leader Robert Sobukwe, and the exiled president of the PAC, Mr Nyathi Pokela, the role of whites in the liberation struggle came under the hammer of a speaker who said a handful of "so-called" white liberals cannot get blacks to a situation where they condone the evils of apartheid out of fear of hurting their white

friends.

Forced removals and homeland resettlements were also condemned as the results of the pass laws. This was said by a speaker at a service held at the St Barnabas Anglican Church in KwaThema Springs.

Mr Duke More, of Azapo, said: "Blacks must make their rightful demands for freedom and justice for all and they should be prepared to take the consequences.

"It should also be made clear to the Government that we are not prepared to go to the homelands which are said to be our promised land because Azania as a whole belongs to the black people.

"Whites will have to learn to live with the fact that blacks are the indigenous people of Azania because Mugabe has already shown them that black majority rule does not necessarily mean the exclusion of whites."

The green, black and gold national flag of the ANC was hoisted during the ser-

vice.

• Three black consciousness leaders were injured in a car accident yesterday while on their way to the wreath-laying ceremony at Sharpeville.

They are Mr Manfred Yende, who was seriously hurt, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela and Mr Phillip Dlamini.

### 'Our Spirits Are Not Dampened'

**EMOTION-CHARGED** people from all parts of the Vaal complex and Reef yesterday turned up to clean and lay wreaths on the graves of the 69 victims of the March 1960 Sharpeville shootings.

The ceremony, held at the old Sharpeville cemetery, was highlighted by chanting of freedom songs and praises of the banned Pan Africanist Congress by members of Azanyu, trade unionists and students.

Two women whose relatives died when the police opened fire on the crowds in 1960 wept hysterically when speaker after speaker described how the day of the anti-pass campaign ended tragically — leaving 69 dead and about 177 injured.

An Azanyu spokesman said the detentions, banings, deaths in detention and harassment of black leaders by the Security Police would not deter "the people's struggle for liberation."

The spokesman said that the people who had responded to the PAC's call to surrender themselves to the police station in protest against the pass laws were heroes and should be honoured for their contribution in the struggle.

The events which followed the "Sharpeville mas-

sacre," including the Soweto uprisings in June 1976, showed that blacks had not had their "spirits dampened" by the white man's oppression.

It was time that blacks got united and fought for their liberation from the shackles of the apartheid system, he said.

A resident, Mr Joe Mange, said that since the anti-pass campaign by PAC in 1960 the Government had done nothing to get rid of the pass laws.

The Government had introduced "cosmetic changes" in the pass, influx control and other discriminatory laws in the country. "We do not want petty changes to be effected, but we want the scrapping of all the apartheid and separate development policies to be introduced."

Blacks should be included in the decision-making machinery so that they could represent their people and have a share in the economy of this country, he said.

An executive member of the Black Priests' Solidarity Group, Mr Jeff Moselane, said he believed the laying of the wreaths showed that blacks were still prepared to pursue their course towards freedom.

"The dead are never forgotten and their role in our everyday lives will give us incentive to go forward with the liberation struggle. I wish to urge the people of Sharpeville to unite," he said.

CSO: 4700/1060

BAN ON MAQINA AUTHOR DUE TO EXPIRE

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 29 Mar 82 p 11

[Text]

THE Rev Mzwandile Maqina, the banned Port Elizabeth author of the celebrated stage production, Give Us This Day, will have his day on Wednesday when his five year banning order expires.

Mr Maqina is one of five people whose banning orders will be expiring at the end of this month. So far, The SOWETAN is not aware of whether any of them have had their banning orders renewed.

One of the other four is Mrs Beauty Nosidima Pityana, wife of banned Black Consciousness leader and Port Elizabeth attorney, Mr Barney Pityana, who skipped the country together in August 1978 and sought political asylum in the

UK where Mr Pityana is studying theology.

The banning orders of Mr M J Phakathi, of Q5957 Mamelodi, Pretoria; Mr A S Kubheka of G923 Kwa-Mashu, Durban, and T S Phantsi of 28 Boog Street, Santaville, Graaff Reinet, will also expire on March 31.

In April 1977, police stopped Mr Maqina's play, The Trial from being performed before an Indian audience in Port Elizabeth. As a result, he had to cancel other shows which were scheduled to be performed before coloured audiences for fear that police may also stop them.

The trial was also banned early in 1977 and Mr Maqina was banned later the same year.

CSO: 4700/1060



BLACK EDUCATION SYSTEM LABELLED 'AUTHORITARIAN'

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 15 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by Norman Ngale]

[Text]

THE education system in South Africa is highly authoritarian. Schools are being governed through proclamations, circulars and the lot, according to Professor Zeke Mphahlele, senior researcher attached to the University of the Witwatersrand's Department of African Studies.

Prof Mphahlele said this yesterday during a re-union function of the Lady Selborne High School's old boys and girls held at the Mamelodi Community Centre.

The colourful occasion was organised by former students of one of Pretoria's oldest schools as a means of saying "thank you" to their former principals and teachers.

The school, which has produced a number of leaders in various fields, was demolished, together with Lady Selborne township, in the early 1960s.

The principals honoured at the function were Mr S P Kwakwa, first head of the school from 1946 and now Minister of Education in the Lebowa Government. Prof Bob Lethaba

Lesoi, now Professor of English at the University of Bophuthatswana. Mr I Mokoena and Mr Paul Matlou.

Professor Mphahlele said there was no consultation in the running of black schools. Instead, authorities prevailed upon each other from the Minister down to the teacher in the classroom, with each subordinate taking orders and nothing else.

He said it was time blacks disentangled and decolonised their minds so as to become masters of their own destiny, so that they can stop merely struggling to survive, but live and live fully.

He appealed to members of the audience not to lose their sense of history as marked by such occasions as the union function. Blacks, he said, had been denied

their history which had been distorted by "another man".

It was barely seven years after Selborne High School was established, the professor recalled, when Dr H F Verwoerd came up with an idea that missionary education taught the students to revolt.

"I wish Dr Verwoerd and Enslen were still alive (during the 1976 riots) to see how dangerous it was to experiment on human minds," he said, urging that students resist the process of being turned into zombies as planned by the two men.

With the demolition of Lady Selborne township in the early 1960s, the school was transferred to Mamelodi, where its name was changed to Ribane Laka High School.

## INKATHA'S VITAL ROLE IN SA UNITY EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English [no date given]

[Article by John Kane-Berman: "Inkatha Holds Real Power in KwaZulu"]

[Text]

**It is ironical that this black political movement is now the only organisation able to prevent the final, and possibly irreversible break-up of South Africa, writes John Kane-Berman.**

The kwaZulu "homeland" in Natal is the source of the country's most enterprising political planning.

Like the nine other archipelagos of land that South Africa's National Party government, in accordance with its policy of apartheid, regards as the "homelands" of the 20 million black people of South Africa, kwaZulu is seen as an "independent national state" in the making.

The leaders of kwaZulu, however, have forsworn "independence" and with it, the automatic denationalisation of South Africa's six million Zulus in favour of citizenship of kwaZulu alone, that its acceptance would entail. In so doing, they have struck at the very roots of the apartheid policy from the platform of a legislative assembly established by the South African Government in the expectation that they would carry it out.

Although Pretoria

vested formal control of kwaZulu in this subordinate legislative assembly, created there in 1972, real power now lies not in that body but in the hands of Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe, the "national cultural liberation movement" set up in 1975 by Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, great grandson of Cetshwayo and the dominant figure in Zulu politics. As head of the Buthelezi clan of the Zulus, he is by tradition first minister to the Zulu monarch.

Under pressure from his people, Buthelezi became chief minister of the new kwaZulu "government," but the assembly, he noted in a speech in Ulundi in 1976, was "not based on a black initiative" and "could never get us out of the strait-jacket of voicelessness as black people." He therefore established Inkatha, gave it a constitution "whose horizons

are beyond 'kwaZulu' as conceived by Pretoria," and became its first president.

Buthelezi was deeply shocked when Transkei agreed to take "independence" in 1976. If the kwaZulu leaders were to follow suit, Buthelezi said, they "would go down in history as betrayers of each and every thing our forebears stood for, suffered for, and fought for. There can be no right more inviolable than the right to be a citizen of the country of your birth."

Though Buthelezi's critics repeatedly demand that he quit the kwaZulu assembly on the grounds that it is an ethnic institution created to promote apartheid, he will not do so, because Pretoria might then be able to replace him with a pliable chief Minister who would accept "independence." "There is no Zulu freedom that is distinct from the black man's freedom in South Africa,"

he has said.

Inkatha has thus used an institution created by the National Party government to thwart it on the issue that lies at the heart of the political philosophy of apartheid: divesting blacks of their South African citizenship, so trying to give apartheid a moral basis it would otherwise lack, the government then being able to claim that denying black Africans the franchise is not racial discrimination but the logical consequence of their status as aliens.

In Pretoria's view, African participation in national political institutions, which is the fundamental issue in South African politics, would then have been removed from the constitutional agenda.

In the words of Dr C P Mulder, then Minister of Plural Relations and Development, in 1978: "If our policy is taken to its full conclusion . . . there will not be one black man with South African citizenship (and) there will no longer be a moral obligation on (our) parliament to accommodate these people politically."

More recently the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr P G J Koornhof, remarked: "Each black nation that becomes independent is a guarantee that one man, one vote in a unitary state in South Africa is impossible."

Hence Buthelezi's argument that what he calls "classical" apartheid will not succeed if

the Zulus, the largest so-called ethnic group, oppose its final goal. "If nothing else we have a formidable power of veto in regard to the most central aspect of government policy."

The implications of the Zulu veto are not yet fully discernible. At the very least, however, it will compel Afrikanerdom to continue its slow search for constitutional alternatives that can be morally and logically justified to restive people within its own ranks, as well as to black opinion as embodied in Inkatha.

It is ironical that a black political movement making use of an institution set up in a "homeland" under Pretoria's fragmentation policy is now the only organisation able to prevent the final, and possibly irreversible, break-up of South Africa. Indeed, Inkatha could well prove to be the only institutional guarantor of whatever may still remain of South Africa's chances of becoming a non-racial political community.

Buthelezi and his colleagues do not think it sufficient merely to block certain policies. They also seek to overcome what they regard as the futility of much black political activity, and to make their embryonic "counterbalancing black power" creative in political and economic fields.

They are in a unique position to do that. Firstly, business and political interests in Natal must take account of them, because

Inkatha controls the government of kwaZulu, which is geographically intertwined with that province; few in Natal would dispute Buthelezi's statement that stability there depends on his leadership.

Secondly, Inkatha's position in government (though it prefers to describe the official kwaZulu structures as a "regional administration"), gives it access to instruments for promoting its policies while simultaneously imposing responsibilities that help ensure the pursuit of realistic objectives.

It is not merely talking about the problems facing blacks, whether they lie in agricultural development, job-creation, mass housing, or school building. It has also begun to tackle them within the financial and institutional constraints that would face any governments that ruled South Africa.

Buthelezi's constituency is to be found not only among black people with jobs and the right to live in towns in the 86 percent of South Africa's territory designated as the "white" area, but also in the most deprived communities in South Africa. Inkatha, indeed, is the only large organisation that speaks for these latter groups, a point that its critics, black as well as white, overlook.

● The above was extracted from an article in a recent issue of *Optima*.

## DETAILS ON WINTERVELD PROJECT GIVEN

## Hidden Squalor

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 24 Mar 82 p 13

[Article by Jon Qwelane]

[Text]

A report compiled jointly by the South African and Bophuthatswana governments on housing in the slum township of Winterveld, near Pretoria, is expected to be released soon. JON QWELANE visited the area recently.

From Pretoria a dirt road winds into the resettlement area of Winterveld, and the dust almost chokes you as soon as you leave the tarred road.

Two flags belonging to a religious sect flutter lazily in the hot summer breeze next to the road.

On the whole, seen from a vantage point, Winterveld looks like any other residential area reserved for blacks.

One does not immediately see the squalor and filth that are hidden by the new four-roomed "match-box" houses that greet a visitor entering the township.

But deeper into the township, one is confronted on either side of the road by structures of every make and kind — including ruins that are said to have been left by despairing tenants.

This is the resettlement area of Winterveld — an island of poverty bordering an emporium of opulence — and power.

More than 500 000 people live at Winterveld.

They come from far and wide — Witbank, Standerton and even Witzenbosch in the Free State.

They live in mud huts, rondavels, tin shacks and buildings made out of glass fibre. Their houses contrast with

the homes of the more affluent, who in most instances also happen to be the landlords.

The toilet facilities cry out to high heaven, and residents claim there is no garbage removal.

Ash heaps and shallow furrows are testimony to that claim.

What toilets there are are built by the residents themselves — a hole a few metres deep and a few boards for privacy make a latrine that will stand for a few months.

There is no running water in Winterveld houses — communal taps serve the purpose.

Water for drinking is another problem in Winterveld.

Pits, which are invisible to the unwary eye, are to be found in some parts of the township,

and at the bottom of these one can see the debris which the township's children deftly avoid with their petrol tins, which have been modified by the addition of a long cord to reach the water.

Such water is used to wash clothes and water gardens.

Used for washing, that is, if the drawer is able to pay a landowner across the street the 10c for a five-litre bucket — otherwise the water from a tank is used for drinking and cooking.

The drinking holes themselves are within metres of the makeshift toilets, some of which are either uncovered or are collapsing.

The landowners derive very good profits from their tenants. It is not

uncommon to find between five and 10 families on a piece of land owned by an individual, who will lease it for between R4 and R7 a month to people on which to build their shelters.

The utter desolation, squalor and filth that are Winterveld may be things of the past with the coming

inter-governmental report, which, it is predicted, will recommend more houses for these discarded people.

But until proper houses are built, Winterveld will remain a festering sore in the hearts of its residents — and one to plague the conscience of South Africa.

### Project Linked to Citizenship

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 26 Mar 82 p 7

[Article by John Mojapelo]

[Text]

THE FIRST phase in the development of the Winterveld slum near Pretoria will take about three years — but for the thousands who have lived in squalor for more than two decades, three years is not a long time to wait.

The project is linked to citizenship of the homeland. Tenants and landowners are invited to take out citizenship, so they can share in the development.

The Winterveld slum has been a point of bitter dispute between Bophuthatswana and South Africa.

The homeland maintains that South Africa is responsible for the slum area, as many of the residents were resettled there from this country.

On the other hand, South Africa feels Bophuthatswana, as an "independent state", should look after the people living in its own territory.

After much wrangling, a committee was formed, consisting of senior officials from both governments as well as residents.

The committee has been meeting behind closed doors for more than two years.

The Rand Daily Mail this week obtained the committee's 24-page confidential report, outlining plans to improve Winterveld.

According to the report, South Africa made a pre-independence agreement with Bophuthatswana to help the homeland resolve the Winterveld dilemma. Bophuthatswana became independent in 1977.

Winterveld, north of Pretoria, consists of 1 658 privately-owned agricultural holdings, and falls within three zones in the Odi-Moretele district.

More than 78% of the plot-owners have owned their land for more than 20 years. The holdings vary from four to 12 morgen.

More than 98% of the plot-owners live on their land, while the remainder live in nearby Mabopane, Ga-rankuwa and other places.

Some plot-owners in the southern part of Winterveld, known as Klippan, accommodate as many as 100 tenant families on one plot, while other plots do not contain one tenant family.

The inter-governmental report estimates the Klippan population at 56 000, and the Winterveld population at about 105 000. Most tenants are non-Transvaal.

The living conditions of the people are described as sub-standard.

Unofficially the Winterveld population is given as about 500 000. According to the report, the sub-standard living conditions are due to tenants' understandable reluctance to invest capital and labour without security of tenure.

At present Bophuthatswana does not benefit from Winterveld people in terms of taxes and rates. About 75% of the tenants have a family member employed in the PWV complex.

The report says inadequate facilities and services characterise the informal settlement of Winterveld.

The South African Government indicated its willingness to make "meaningful contribution towards a suitable collaborative investigation" into the living conditions in Winterveld.

The first phase of the development will involve building 1 800 to 2 000 dwellings on serviced sites. Educational and other facilities will be built west of Winterveld.

Plot-owners and tenants are invited to take part in the development of the area by taking up Bophuthatswana citizenship, if they are not yet citizens of the homeland.

"Plot-owners, having legalised their domicile, can opt to develop their plots on an agricultural basis. Plot-owners who want to sell their agricultural holdings on the open market are able to do so," the report states.

No further settlement for residential purposes will be allowed in this zone. An urban residential area has also been suggested for development.



MEAT CONSUMPTION DECLINES, SUPPLY SHORTAGE BLAMED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 23 Mar 82 p 8

[Article by Caroline Braun]

[Text]

Beef and mutton consumption last year fell to the lowest levels in three years. It is expected to drop even further this year.

In 1979 South Africans consumed 515 000 tons of beef. This dropped to 499 000 tons in 1980 and 431 000 tons in 1981. The estimated beef consumption in 1982 is 412 000 tons.

Mutton consumption fell from 117 000 tons in 1979 to 114 000 tons in 1980 and 111 000 tons in 1981. This year's estimated consumption is 109 000 tons.

A Meat Board spokesman said the main reason for the drop in beef and mutton consumption was that supplies had decreased.

"Beef supplies from Namibia, one of our most important sources, have dropped dramatically, especially since the beginning of 1980. We expect very little

beef from this area this year," he said.

Mutton supplies have dropped because the wool price has been favourable during the last few years and farmers have built up their flocks for wool rather than sending their sheep to market.

Consumer resistance to meat prices, which rose sharply in 1979 and 1980, has also contributed to the drop in consumption.

Pork consumption, on the other hand, increased last year and is expected to rise further this year.

In 1979 pork consumption was 70 000 tons. It fell to 68 000 tons in 1980, increased to 71 000 tons in 1981 and is expected to reach 72 000 tons this year.

The meat Board spokesman said pork would play a bigger role this year because its availability could be adapted to consumer demand far more easily than beef and mutton.

CSO: 4700/1064

**BOMB EXPLOSION DESTROYS LANGA COURT**

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 22 Mar 82 p 1

[Text]

**A POWERFUL bomb destroyed the cells behind the Langa Commissioner's Court, where thousands of pass law offenders have been sentenced, at the weekend.**

The blast, on the eve of the anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville shootings, ripped away almost the entire asbestos roof of the cell block and damaged the courthouse across the narrow yard.

No one was hurt by the explosion, which occurred at 2.05 am on Saturday. The cells are used only during the day to hold awaiting trial prisoners. The area was sealed off by the riot police.

This was the second bomb attack on a Department of Co-operation and Development building in Cape Town in recent months, in what is believed to be an ANC campaign aimed at creating confusion in the administration of apartheid by destroying records of blacks.

The ANC claimed responsibility for the first blast, at the department's offices in Observatory.

The Langa Commissioner's Court was the scene of the first major confrontation between

the Nyanga squatters and police last year.

On July 16, a squad of riot police, led by Captain Dolf Odendaal, fired teargas into a crowd of about 800 people protesting at the first wave of mass arrests in Nyanga.

Professor Martin West, the head of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Cape Town, said more than 16 000 people were arrested in the Peninsula on pass offences in 1980 — and most of them passed through the Langa Commissioner's Court.

The entire area of the weekend blast was sealed off by riot police under the command of Captain Dolf Odendaal and an intensive investigation was begun by forensic experts and Security Police.

rity Police.

A fire which followed the explosion was extinguished by light rain.

Tight security was imposed at the site of the blast. Reporters were forbidden to inspect the damage or take photographs.

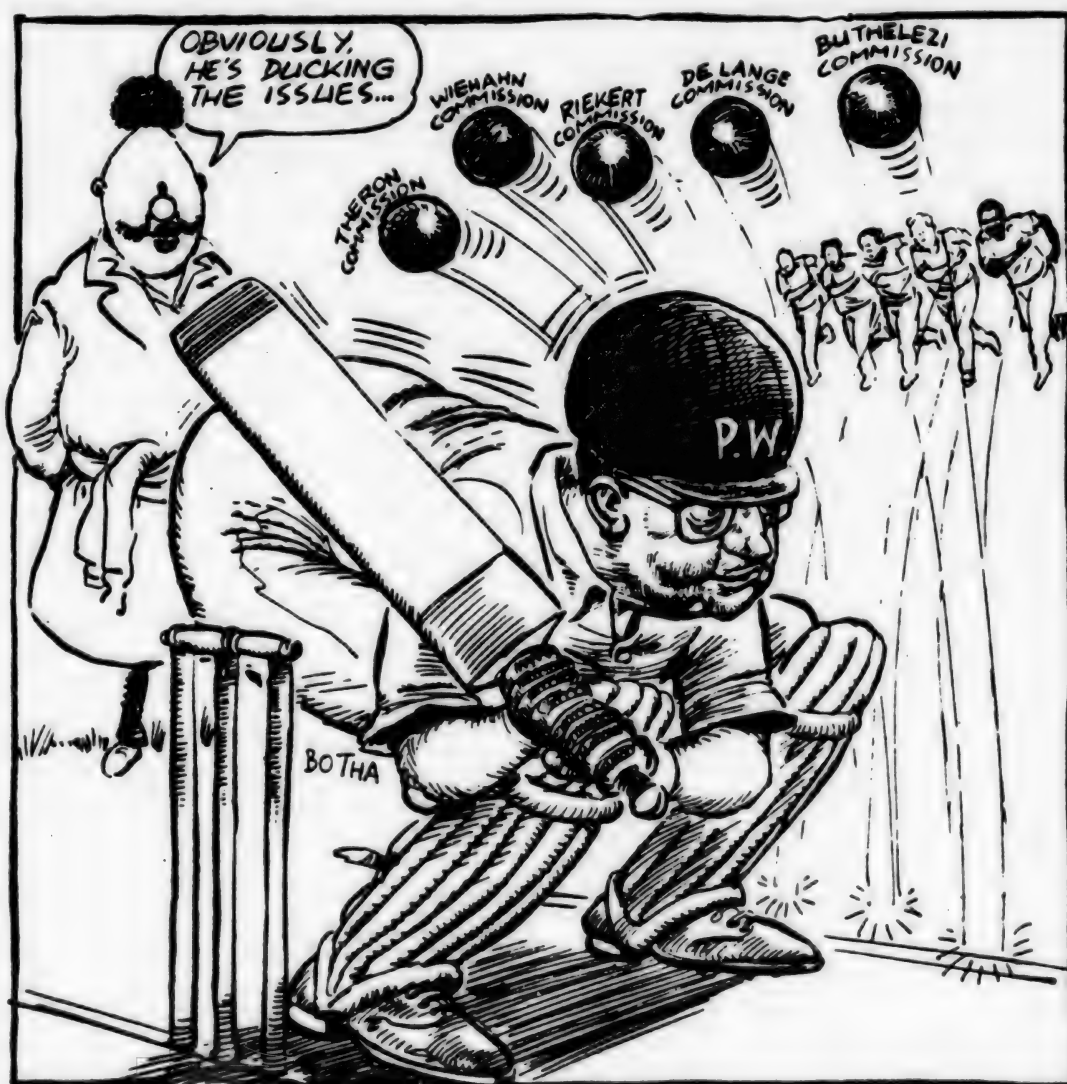
The only photographs permitted were of the front of the court, where damage was minimal, though shattered asbestos from the cell roof was scattered all around.

The Chief Commissioner for the Co-operation and Development Department in the Western Cape, Mr Timo Bezuidenhout, said the damage appeared to have been most severe in the aid centre adjoining the cells.

UNCAPTIONED CARTOONS HIT BOTHA'S ADMINISTRATION, HOUSING CRISIS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 11, 12 Mar 82 pp 4, 6

[Text]





CSO: 4700/1060

SURVEY REPORTS SUPPORT FOR INTEGRATED BUSES

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 25 Mar 82 p 7

[Article by Len Kalane]

[Text]

**IF INTEGRATED buses were introduced in and around Johannesburg, the idea would be welcomed by the public, from both black and white quarters, a SOWETAN survey has established.**

The idea was mooted by a senior assistant director of the municipality forward planning branch in the Johannesburg City Council, Mr S N Horwitz, who told a metropolitan conference this week that a mixed bus service in Johannesburg might be introduced in the near future.

But then the same idea was knocked down by Mr Francois Oberholzer, Johannesburg's management boss, who denied that integrated buses in the city were imminent. He said the statement by Mr Horwitz concerned council policy and should not have been made at all.

However, a cross-section of people, among them hardline

Nationalists, expressed a wish to end apartheid in all means of transport, including the South African Railways. This, they argued, was a move long overdue and would promote race relations if implemented.

Mr Hendrick Johannes Swanepoel (27), who stays in the city centre, confessed that while he supported the National Party, he believed that apartheid was being applied unnecessarily in some areas.

"Take for an example the idea of integrated buses," he said, "it will be marvellous. We are all human-beings and let us all get into the buses. I don't think there will be any racial friction as other



people tend to think."

His friend, Mr J L van Rensburg, who had been eavesdropping, chirped in: "That's right, we want blacks in our buses as well."

He too is a supporter of the Nationalist Party. But he said blacks should stop their "tsotsi" behaviour once allowed in the "white" buses.

"The integration on buses is a step in the right direction against the polarisation of races in the country. Time is ripe now that the Government should remove petty apartheid in bottlestores and places like that. The SAR should do it as well."

Ms Gail Howes, a white woman from Hillbrow, commented: "This is something long overdue. Once in practice, the move will also help ease overcrowding in buses (like in most black buses) and one will get a bus more frequently."

Mrs Randeliea Steyn, from Bosmont Coloured township, said: "It's a very good idea. It will definitely benefit the people."

Both Mr Richard Tshabalala and Ms Florence Tshabalala (not related), agreed that integrated buses would promote the easy flow of commuters who travel daily into the city. They welcomed the idea.

Mrs Margaret Mofat, from Scotland and now staying in Berea, said: "In fact I was surprised when I came into this country to realise that there were separated facilities for racial groups. Every other country in the world doesn't have such separate facilities. Why can't this be done in South Africa?"

She quipped at the end of the interview: "I hope they don't deport me for saying that."

Mr Sy Ndebele, a reporter with the SABC: "This move will bring a close relationship between black and white. The country is just too hostile and different racial groups don't know each other well."

Ms Ntombi Ngwenya of Diepkloof said the move might promote racial harmony and at the end bring apartheid to its knees.

## INCONGRUITIES OF RACIAL CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM HIGHLIGHTED

## 'Skierlik' Defined

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 12 Mar 82 p 6

["Joe's Burg" column: "What's in a Name in SA?"]

## [Text]

SKIERLIK it's all been happening. I mean, how else can one explain the flurry of activity that has been going on in official corridors over the past year?

You remember, of course, the outcry some years ago when officialdom decided to classify "coloureds" in all sorts of fancy ways. It all had to do with your pigmentation, I'm told.

To give you the Steenkamp example: The mother would be classified as "coloured". The father would get a "Cape coloured" classification. The son would be a "coloured". The daughter "Other Coloured". See what I mean?

Now I cannot vouch for the truth of this story. And I do hope that nobody rushes to the police and lays a charge against me for inciting "one race against the other". In fact, let me hasten to add, some of my relatives are "coloured". Which "coloured". I don't know seeing as I never asked them.

I'm told that the "coloureds" of darker

shade really have it tough. Apparently, they are being called "skierlik" — which, to the uninitiated, means "suddenly". The reason for this is that they are said to have "skierlik" become "coloureds" — suggesting that they must have been something else before. Indeed, I gather there is one township for "coloureds" where officialdom has conveniently placed the darker-shaded coloureds, and that area has become known as "skierlik".

You see, I was told from an impeccable source that last year 558 Cape "coloureds" became whites. I don't know whether the whites in the area now call them "skierlik", too. But I think I do know what they were called before they became white: Amper-Baas. But joking aside, there is usually a sad story of human suffering and misery as can only be appreciated by those who are directly affected.

Why else would 15 whites have decided

they wanted to be "coloured"? Again, there is a story to each one of them. A story of suffering, heartache. In other cases which Parliament probably is not aware of, such misery has led to death — "the only way out".

The statistics from Parly also tell us that eight Chinese became whites (used to be honorary whites) and I don't know whether the seven whites who decided to become Chinese were impressed by the displays by the Taiwanese military drill or the prospects of settling there.

Maybe they were Chinese before, but because before the Chinese were classified as honorary white, they had just as many problems as other races. Perhaps they have decided that seeing as Taiwan is getting so close to South Africa while everybody else around us is trying to get away, it is good foresight to become Chinese once more. Provided, of course, you are not Red.

Let me once more hasten to add that I'm

not trying to poke fun at anybody. Indeed, some of my best black friends who have been running into problems with influx control have decided they are going into the "coloured" lark. There are the Mthimkulus who are now Grootbooms. The Letlapa who is now Mr Stone. The Latakomo (no relation) who is now Mr Lategan. The Tau who is now Mr Leeuw. The list goes on.

You see, "coloureds" get paid more than other blacks; they can work anywhere and are not stopped in the streets for "stinker". Can you blame the guys who decided to hell with it and went in to become "coloured"?

Now back to the statistics. Surprise, surprise! One Indian last year became a white! Not only that, six Malays became whites also, and for some reason, two whites became Malays.

The Chinese attraction must have looked good, because two Cape "coloureds" became Chinese, while only one Chinese became a Cape "coloured".

Then, 21 Indians became Malays, while 13 Malays became Indians. Two "Other Asians" became Cape "coloureds".

If you thought that is the end of it, you are wrong. A whole lot of blacks — 79, in fact — became Cape "coloureds", while eight Cape "coloureds" became blacks. Four blacks — and this takes the cake — became "Other Asians", another two became Indians and two other blacks became Griquas. What that means I really don't know because quite frankly I have never heard them

being mentioned in any power-sharing discussion.

I gather from very impeccable, usually unreliable, sources that the timing for presenting these facts in Parliament was just right. It was planned for this period because of the split in the National Party — which really means a split in Afrikanerdom. The battle is now on between the two groups to prove which is the real Afrikaner.

I gather that a poll was recently held in Nylstroom by one Jacobus Johannes Petrus van Aardbeweging. I gather, too, that this action by JJP caused quite a stir in the area, rocking the very foundations of this one-street town. There is, however, no truth in the rumour that he was thrown into the lake just outside the town and drowned, because his report was tabled at a meeting of the Ware Afrikaner Regs Ewagheid (Ware), whose motto is "Regs Is Reg En Weg Met Links".

The only problem is that Mr Van thought P W Botha was "regs", which he found out to be much too late — while he was being fished from the lake. Now Mr Van's poll indicated that as far as the people in that area are concerned, there is only one honest man in Parliament — one Dr Andries Treurnicht. He, they point out, is the Afrikaner's leader. PW, as far as they are concerned, can lead the "Other Afrikaners".

I gather Mr Van is in line for a medal for bravery very soon.

However, you will realise that Mr Botha has not got wool over his eyes. He's been in this game for far too

long to be caught napping. (His TV appearance the other day in Profile certainly caught a lot of people napping.) You see, this was all planned. If JBV could have written about him (Vorster, The Man), SATV must also do something for PW — a lot more powerful, as TV "gets" you, while you have to read a book.

Now a total onslaught has been declared. But first of all, you have to win friends and influence farmers. So tell them there is no intention of doing anything that will upset them like probing the wages they pay their labourers without their consent and co-operation.

You also get one newspaper from the Afrikaans stable to wonder why the English newspapers, which have, for years, been "riding" Dr No, now give him all the publicity. The implication there is obvious: if the English Press supports him, he cannot possibly be the real Afrikaner.

Which means, in short, that Mr Botha and his lot will be officially classified as Afrikaner. (I gather the idea of Cape Afrikaner has been suggested by Dr T's followers.)

There is no truth in rumours that legislation to that effect will be introduced during the session of Parliament, as no final decision has yet been reached as to whether Dr T and his followers will be classified as "Other Afrikaner", "Vaal Afrikaner" (something to do with a grey area, I gather) or "Nie Afrikaner" (a logical name following in the tradition of calling blacks "Nie Blankes").

Ah, well, what's in a name in this country?

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 15 Mar 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Tragedies of Our Race Laws"]

[Text]

EVERY year in Parliament, figures are given in a matter-of-fact way, of race re-classifications approved over the year before. Quite often, these figures just get a slight mention in newspapers as just another run-of-the-mill statistic given in reply to a question by one or the other Member of Parliament.

Of course, the hardship behind every case is not brought out in Parliament. And the public generally are not told the whole story behind each of those re-classifications. If this were done, perhaps people — mostly whites who have not been directly affected by some of these re-classifications — would better understand just what it means to go through this process.

At the weekend, a typical case emerged: A girl was born of a black father and a coloured mother in Umtata. The father left them soon after her birth, and the mother went to live in a coloured township. However, when it came to her classification, she was put in the "black" register, while her mother was classified as coloured.

She was forced to attend a "black" school — where she could not even speak the language of her class-mates. She was teased, she says, because she was considered "different". After leaving school, she applied for re-classification. But the whole process took 24 years, as each time her application was turned down.

During this time, she also married a coloured man, and had three chil-

dren. They were later divorced — and, although she does not give reasons, it is almost a certainty that her struggle to be classified as coloured had something to do with it. As she had to hand in her reference book with her application, she could not work — and lived on maintenance from her husband.

As we pointed out, this is not a unique case. There are hundreds of them — perhaps even thousands. They all involve people. People who have been unfortunate to be born in South Africa, where we are so obsessed with race issues that nothing else seems to matter. We are, it seems, beyond caring whether our actions cause this country to continue being looked at as the pariah of this world.

It is for this reason that we can still stand by idly and watch people being evicted under the Group Areas Act's provisions. We stand by as whole townships are brought down under the bulldozer, as officialdom pursues its policy of separate development. Whether or not those people have alternative accommodation is not the issue. It is simply irrelevant. What we are concerned with is the letter of the law — even though we know that the law is an ass.

And yet, we still tell the world about progress in this country, and accuse those who try to point out issues like race classification, the Group Areas Act etc. of being communist-inspired agitators who simply want the violent overthrow of the state.

Cartoon Comment

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 15 Mar 82 p 4

[Text]



Re-Classifications Reported

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 17 Mar 82 p 1

[Text]

**"HOW CAN you cry over a lost pair of shoes when you have never worn them or even cared to know that the shoes are yours? I have never even regarded myself as a white man**

**because I hated the idea of being white."**

That statement came from a former white man now living in Eldorado Park after he was re-classified as Cape Coloured.

"I did not even play



with white children at school and white children called me a 'kaffer-boetie' because I was always in the company of black children and even my lifestyle was more black than white." Mr Dennis Mills (40) told *The SOWETAN* in an interview.

He said he was classified coloured on his own request, because since his youth, he has never liked the idea of being a white man.

He said he spent the better part of his life in the company of blacks and when he was jailed for nine to fifteen years in 1976, prison life isolated him from blacks with whom he identified more than he did with whites.

As a result, he applied to the Department of the Interior to be re-classified as a coloured.

Mr Mills said before he was imprisoned for theft, he had been living illegally with a coloured woman for 12 years. They were prevented by the law from getting married.

But he started his new life as a coloured while in prison after his application was approved. He said he was immediately transferred from the white section of the Pretoria Central Prison and sent to Witbank, where he shared cells with blacks.

Mr Mills was released

from prison on parole last week. But he came out to a lonely life because his customary coloured wife, Elizabeth, was killed while he was in prison.

Speaking in impeccable Zulu, sometimes mixed with Tsotsi-taal, Mr Mills said: "Kusedladleni hierso" (this is my home). He showed me into his flat where he is now living with his two step-children, aged 24 and 23, and two grand-children, aged 10 and 8.

He told me he does not feel by being classified coloured he is losing any of the privileges of being a white man because he has never enjoyed any of those privileges since he has always lived like a black man.

In Parliament recently, figures were released showing more than 600 whites, coloureds, Indians, blacks, Chinese and Griquas had their races changed last year.

Five hundred and fifty-eight Cape Coloureds were re-classified white, 15 whites were re-classified Cape Coloureds, eight Chinese became whites, seven whites became Chinese, one Indian became white, three whites became Indians and several blacks became coloureds and vice-versa.

HARASSMENT OF FASTING CAPE SQUATTERS DEPLORED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 22 Mar 82 p 4

[Editorial: "How Crazy Can Some People Be?"]

[Text]

WE FEEL forced to repeat the plight of the squatters fasting to the death in a Cape Town cathedral because of the outrageous things some lunatics have embarked on to stop the fast.

Our disgust at the nauseous antics of these crazy people who are defiling a church to express themselves is accentuated by the acute sympathy we feel for the squatters. We also believe the authorities should do something drastic to stop people from displaying such uncivilised behaviour no matter how bitterly their feelings are aroused.

There is no place for such fiends in a civilised country.

As these pathetic people are nearing their second week fasting, some extraordinary things have been happening to them. The acts, which are almost satanic, have led to the church being defiled in what should be the worst display of vulgarity and insensitivity.

We report on Page 7 how some whites have been slipping into the church to defile it and scream abuse at the squatters.

As the fast is attracting international attention this is what Brian Bishop, chairman of the civil rights league, who has been assisting them reported:

A white man is alleged to have struck a verger at the door and tried

to force his way into the church. A white woman carrying parcels of raw fish allegedly dropped them near the squatters to give the false impression that they have been eating. She went further, it is reported, by urinating round the altar. Another white is said to have sprinkled some evil smelling liquid near the people.

While we are aware of the depth of feeling fasting usually produces as happened to the Maze prisoners in Belfast, we find it almost impossible to believe that there are people who would go to such extraordinary lengths to make their point.

We are aware there are whites who are dismayed about the happenings in Cape Town and others who would like to see the tragedy brought to an end. It is something civilised people shudder at, to see others deliberately commit suicide.

Two other things have happened that are likely to attract even more attention to the Cape Town fasters. They are going through this troubling act in a time that is significant to Christians — the pre-Easter period.

The least that can be said for us all is we should be taking stock of ourselves and examining our souls about the tragedy of South Africa, whether we are Christian or not.

A coloured nun, who wishes to remain anonymous, has joined the fast adding another poignant dimension to what should be the saddest incident in the country.

It is frightening the lengths that South Africans will go to to vent feelings that have at their base racist overtones of the most extraordinary kind.

CSO: 4700/1060

# HEAVY PENALTIES PRESCRIBED IN 'SPY' BILL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by Jaap Theron]

[Text]

**THE new Protection of Information Bill, published yesterday, provides for a maximum penalty of 20 years' jail for any one supplying South Africa's enemies with classified information.**

The Bill, introduced by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, repeals, among others, the Official Secrets Act of 1956, the Amended Official Secrets Act, certain relevant clauses of the Police Act of 1958, the General Amendment Bills of 1969 and of 1972.

The Bill will, for the first time, impose heavy penalties on South Africans who have access to classified information and who intentionally or unintentionally allow such information to fall into enemy hands.

The bill is a direct result of recommendations of the Rabie Commission of Inquiry into security legislation and is largely aimed at pre-

venting South Africans who have access to classified information from leaking such information.

South African officials or other South Africans who allow classified information to fall into unauthorised hands, either from within South Africa or while abroad, are liable to a maximum penalty of R10 000 or 10 years' imprisonment.

The Bill provides for action against South Africans who are abroad while betraying the Government.

The heaviest penalty is, however, for spies or agents who are caught in prohibited areas, which include armament factories, ships or strategic installations. Such people can get a maximum term of 20 years' imprisonment.

The 20 year imprisonment term can also be imposed on a South African citizen who supplies information not in the interest of South Africa to a hostile agent or organisation, irrespective of whether the citizen is

domiciled in or outside South Africa.

The Bill makes provision for both the Minister or the State President to declare any place a prohibited area or any organisation outside the Republic as hostile organisation.

A person who is in charge of official secret codes or documents and who gives them to an unauthorised person is liable to a maximum penalty of R10 000 and/or ten years' imprisonment.

But when such classified information is supplied to a foreign state or hostile organisation, the 20 year imprisonment clause applies.

A maximum fine of R5 000 and/or five years' imprisonment applies for persons who enter or assist others to enter a prohibited area.

A person who hinders guards at security or prohibited areas is liable to a fine of R1 000 and/or one year imprisonment.

## REPORTAGE ON BILL TO CREATE 'DAD'S ARMY'

## Justification Needed

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 28 Mar 82 p 35

[Article by Tertius Myburgh: "Dad's Army May Be Necessary-But We Need To Know Why"]

[Text]

**W**ISELY, the Bill to create a South African "Dad's Army" is being referred to a Select Committee for further examination.

For General Magnus Malan will need to be much more persuasive if he wishes to generate true national enthusiasm for his plans.

Without such public support — spontaneous, wholehearted and sincere — the whole system will be defective from the start.

Rarely has a major policy decision — in effect, a plan to mobilise virtually every white male in the country — been more clumsily visited upon a public so woefully unprepared and consequently so sceptical both about the need and consequences of the sweeping action.

This is not to say that ordinary citizens are unaware that South Africa faces a security threat. Far from it.

The border war, acts of rural and urban terrorism, the fact that few families do not have, or have not had, a member in uniform (not a few making the supreme sacrifice), a torrent of bellicose rhetoric from across our borders ... all have combined to heighten public awareness of security needs.

Moreover, only the recklessly complacent or the utterly myopic can still believe that it is possible to enjoy South Africa's relative stability and the good life which tends to accompany it without having to make any sacrifices.

There is an inescapable price that must be paid for living in this land.

Many whites, some of them genuinely morally troubled, others simply too selfish, or too physically fearful of paying such a price, have sought a new life elsewhere.

But only a tiny minority have so far "taken the gap" out of here; the vast majority of South African whites live in this country knowing that in its uniquely complex situation a security line must be held while fair and just political solutions are sought.

**H**owever, the thing which has shaken these ordinary members of the public, and which as a subject for everyday conversation completely edged out the budget this week, was the suddenness, even the apparent casualness, of the manner in which the SADF's new call-up plans were sprung on the country.

Suddenly, one day, we (that is, white males) were all in the army. Henceforth we would be living like Israelis, all trained in some aspect of combat, all available for instant call-up.

This represents a major, definitive change in the state of our society.

True, there were explanations. We were told of the growing might of regular, Soviet-equipped armies in neighbouring states (although there was also justified scepticism about the will or the ability of these forces to mount a set-piece attack across our borders).

Many other, generally familiar and not all of them equally persuasive, security argu-



ments were paraded afresh.

But if there was some new, overwhelmingly important, case to be made for such a dramatic and potentially disruptive departure from existing practice into virtual national mobilisation, it was not effectively conveyed to the public.

True, towards the end of the week there were official assurances that the system would be flexible, that not all men would necessarily need to do service until they were 60, and that it was simply a matter of planning for all eventualities.

**Y**et many questions remain, and in homes, offices and on factory floors they were being asked by ordinary, reasonable and generally patriotic folk:

- Has the security position really deteriorated to the point that the economy may be disrupted by committing virtually the entire white male workforce to regular periods of training?

- Will such a disruption not play into the hands of an enemy, given that insurgency warfare is based on tying up, and ultimately exhausting, the target nation's economic resources?

- Will such a massive mobilisation, if it occurs, not shake foreign confidence in the South African economy?

- Why does the SADF need more men, when in so many homes young servicemen are known to complain that existing manpower is not always gainfully employed as it is?

- What about the thousands of non-South Africans with residence permits, and new immigrants? Will they continue to escape military service?

- What about South Africans of colour? What must they think when their white fellow citizens suddenly appear to be overtaken by what could seem like a military psychosis?

Who, they will ask, is all this might to be

used against?

Answers to such questions doubtless exist, for the military authorities, who have a creditable record in these matters, would not lightly have launched this sweeping new programme without first giving exhaustive consideration to both the political, economic and psychological consequences.

The point is: have these answers been properly disseminated? Can they be?

A fully-informed public will not shirk its responsibilities. But it is entitled to certain assurances.

First among these is one which the SADF has itself frequently proclaimed. This is that the solution to South Africa's political problems is 80 percent political — and only 20 percent military.

In other words, a massive new deployment of resources into defence without a concomitant — and equally bold — thrust in the field of political reform so that the security threat can be reduced will be rightly condemned by all except those who believe the status quo must be maintained by force.

**S**Second, the public has a right to know whether the Government has plans for constitutional reform to extend meaningful political rights to people of colour so that they, too, have something worth defending.

And third, it is obvious that our military manpower is being stretched by the conflict in Namibia.

[Illegible] must make sacrifices to provide additional uniformed manpower, it is entitled to an unqualified assurance that everything possible is being done on the diplomatic front to settle that protracted problem so that South African forces can disengage from the territory and return to do their job back home.

Massive mobilisation may indeed be necessary — but so is greater candour on the part of the Government.

#### Manpower Drain

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 26 Mar 82 p 6

[Article by Tony Davis]

[Text]

The training of skilled manpower will have to be stepped up in order to offset the effects of increased military ser-

vice.

Manpower experts fear an extended call-up will aggravate the existing shortages of

skilled workers.

A recently announced Bill provides for the Defence Force to tap a pool of 800 000

white male South Africans between the ages of 17 and 60.

Previously defence commitments had been borne by about 25 percent of the white male population, the Defence Force said.

Employers are calling for close liaison between the private sector and the military so that new call-up provisions take account of manpower training requirements.

The Management and Manpower Foundation of Southern Africa has estimated at least half a million people will have to undergo training annually to meet current manpower demands.

Of this number half

would receive initial training and the other half would require re-training.

The executive director of the Management and Manpower Foundation, Mr Paul Penzhorn, said the volume and pace of current training programmes would have to be increased to off-set the new military demands.

He warned it was necessary to ensure those who were called up were not "standing idle" but were constructively employed.

Employers were generally in agreement that if the increased call-up by the Defence Force was necessary it could not be avoided. But they felt the system had to be stream-

lined to avoid wastage.

Officials at the Stellenbosch Bureau for Economic Research view the extended call-up as unlikely to have a major impact on manpower planning.

National service will probably be extended from 240 to 720 days. But this service will spread over 12 years — rather than eight, as in the past.

For the 800 000 registered citizens liable for call-up the initial period of training is likely to be 30 days in the first year. It is proposed this be followed by a maximum of 12 days annually until the age of 60.

The new Defence Force requirements will not alter the cur-

rent system of exemptions for students and apprentices.

Part-time students and those doing correspondence courses were likely to be liable for call-up. It was argued they were able to resume their studies after the period of service, education sources said.

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut has also expressed the view that the new call-up measures would have to be implemented with caution in order to avoid disrupting the private sector unduly. The AHI has said the country's security requirements should be met by drawing on various black communities.

### Possibility of Polarizing People

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 27 Mar 82 p 7

[Editorial: "The Big Call-Up"]

[Text]

**Y**ES it is an emotive issue, this new plan for a massive military call-up, but that surely does not mean it must not be discussed for fear that some people may confuse criticism with unpatriotism. Like it or not, the plan has serious political implications.

It contains the potential for South Africa to be divided as never before; for groups to be more polarised and antagonised. There could be the gravest consequences.

We start from the premise that violence is not a solution.

A secure future depends on peaceful change. All governments have a duty to preserve peace by enlisting citizens to fight violent threat from inside or outside. We need an efficient army. Ideally, it will be necessary to maintain peace by aggression for short periods; only for so long as politicians need to devise solutions that meet all aspirations. Politicians become part of the problem — a threat to peace — when they fail to recognise what they must do. They also pose a threat when they use violence as a counter-argument.

The sweeping call-up proposals seem to go far beyond the requirements for peace-keeping, even in a tension-wracked society. The first draft suggested that the call-up should be not only for adult whites up to age 60 but coloureds, Asians and women too. The latter suggestions have been abandoned — for the moment.

We are still left with a plan that, if implemented, would indicate that the war has been lost anyway.

If South Africa were to try to mobilise on the scale envisaged by the proposed Bill, the Defence Force could not cope. Its efficiency would be impaired, Dad's Army would be hopelessly under-trained and ineffectual, the economy would take a battering, numbers of our best and brightest would get out of the country and (most foreboding) unemployment among blacks would soar. The dangers need no emphasising.

On top of that, this grandiose call-up plan implies that there is some form of existing or potential alliance between whites, coloureds and Asians — and that these racial groups should com-

line against a common enemy, which presumably includes not only blacks and reds outside the country, but blacks within it too. Otherwise why have they been pointedly excluded?

Are we preparing for a civil war? Portions of the National Party (which itself happens to be a minority governing a majority) may still delude themselves that the political aspirations of South African blacks have been catered for. Increasingly, Nationalist thinkers do not. And this newspaper is not so naive as to assume that sophisticated Defence Force strategists believe in the "homeland" solution either.

So why produce a massive call-up plan that is unworkable, demoralising to young South Africa, harmful to prosperity and almost certain to become a focal point for racial antagonism?

The vague justification that Russia

and minions are going to be at our jugular within five years is hardly adequate. Even if one accepts it, the proposed call-up cannot be achieved in the available time, if ever.

We do not presume to know what is in the mind of the Prime Minister and the military. But we can say that these alarmist proposals are certain to produce one immediate outcome: they will hasten the development of a national war psychosis.

In such a climate, the country becomes vulnerable to manipulation. It is possible to govern in a more dictatorial manner, to demand that freedoms be sacrificed in the name of security, to deal brutally with dissent.

Total strategy becomes an achievable objective. In less highly-charged terms, it means that we have chosen to fight rather than talk. There has to be a better way of securing the future.

# Uncaptioned Cartoon

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 24 Mar 82 p 26



Cartoon Pun

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 26 Mar 82 p 12



CSO: 4700/1064

HARD TIMES PREDICTED FOR SA MOTOR TRADE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Apr 82 p 9

[Text]

THE days of wine and roses and smiling all the way to the bank appear to be ending for the South African motor trade.

One of the biggest motor dealers in the country predicted in Pretoria yesterday that car sales would start to decrease soon, mainly because of worsening economic conditions, the high interest rates and the levelling off in the overall economy.

Mr Martin Jonker said the fall-off was already clear in used car sales.

Mr Jonker, who is also chairman of the Datsun-Nissan Dealers' Association, said, however, indications were that fleet sales would continue to stay high this year and would make up about 75 percent of the total motor market.

Analysis of last year's

car sales, he said, revealed that there had been a swing back to larger and more luxurious cars despite high petrol prices.

There was a decrease, interestingly, of 10,4 percent in sales of medium-sized cars.

The trend towards front-wheel-driven vehicles was showing a remarkable growth — from 7 percent of the total market in 1970 to 18,6 percent in 1977 and to 42 percent last year.

He predicted that by the turn of the century Blacks would own nearly half all motor vehicles in the Republic.

The obvious advice to dealers in 1982 is to consolidate their position and to concentrate on improving service, linked with spending more money on marketing and advertising, he said.

CSO: 4700/1059



BLACK ENGINEERS NEEDED TO MEET WHITE SHORTAGE

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 25 Mar 82 p 15

[Text]

**THERE** is a tremendous need for blacks to come into the engineering field because the task was proving too much for whites, students at Wits University accommodated at Mofolo Salvation Army Hostel were told this week.

Dr R J Laburn, chairman of the Mofolo Student's Residence Committee, was speaking at a formal presentation of library books valued at R5 000 to the students' library.

Of this amount R2 000 was spent on more than 200 books installed and the rest were those donated by individuals and institutions. They cover a wide range of technical and professional matter in the engineering field.

In acknowledging the receipt of the books, Mr Smunda Mokoena, chairman of the Student's Library Committee, thanked the Federation of Societies of Professional Engineers (FSPE) by whose

name the library will be known, and other donors.

He said the books would make it possible for students to study and do research in their own residence. In the past, students had met with transport problems in the evening from the Wits library.

The residence, opened in 1979 to black engineering students at Wits, presently caters for about 75 students. The FSPE and the Anglo American Corporation have played a major role in renovating the place to compare favourably with accommodation available on Wits campus.

CSO: 4700/1060

TUCSA BACKS VIF RIGHTS FOR HOMELAND WORKERS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 25 Mar 82 p 13

[Article by Joshua Raboroko]

[Text] **THE Trade Union Council of South Africa has asked the Government for the protection of benefits and rights under the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) of "independent" homeland workers in South Africa.**

The union says it wants action to be taken to protect the rights of these workers and to ensure that any future independent states are obliged to set up a UIF to protect their workers.

Tucsa says that there is dissatisfaction amongst workers over the issue and it does not want to see industrial unrest over it as happened in the preservation of pensions dispute last year.

Citizens of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, were covered by SA's Unemployment Insurance Act for three years after independence.

"After that time they had no protection, and the workers from these countries forfeited the money they donated to this fund.

Only Bophuthatswana started its own unemployment insurance fund with a grant of R300 000 from the South African fund.

"Although Transkei was given independence five years ago it still has no unemployment insurance, and so its citizens are uncovered. It is also not known whether Venda or Ciskei intend to create such funds.

The union has written to the director-general of Manpower saying that it feels this is grossly

unjust towards the workers from these states who lose their benefits and cease to be protected."

The union urges that, in future, states should be obliged to set up funds of their own within three years of independence and that entitlements within the South African fund should be transferable.

"To ensure that this issue does not become an emotional one", the pamphlet says, "the union has called for fair treatment of all workers who have contributed to the fund, and for accurate information on the situation to be given to all workers concerned."

## DECREASE IN LABOR PRODUCTIVITY REPORTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 21 Mar 82 p 40

[Article by John Spira]

[Text]

THE wages of South Africa's unskilled workers have been increased to a point where labour intensity in industry is a certain formula for uncompetitiveness.

This is because the wage increases at the lower levels have taken place with no relation to productivity, according to Dr Charles Skeen, newly elected president of the SA Institution of Civil Engineers.

At the annual meeting of the institution this week, Dr Skeen pointed out that Japanese, German and American workers produce in excess of \$25 000 per worker per annum.

South African workers produce a mere \$4 000.

He added: "In Japan, large numbers of workers operate in service functions and operate competitively in that function because they have achieved an increase in productivity of approximately 8% per annum — a truly remarkable figure.

"There is some doubt as to whether we in South Africa have achieved 0.5% per annum.

"It is a fact that in some

activities productivities have actually dropped."

He rejected the solution that technology-based jobs be made more labour-intensive and considered that industrial decentralisation policies provide no more than an insignificant part of the solution.

"Job creation must be sought at a very basic level, starting with agriculture, and this can only take place in the underdeveloped areas of our country.

"I believe this can be done without jeopardising the large-scale food production which takes place in the more developed areas using more mechanised methods."

He pointed out that the need for placing a new emphasis on agricultural development is dictated by the fact that production rates six to seven times those now prevailing in the underdeveloped areas are easily attainable.

This warrants even greater attention when it is estimated that the cost of creating a job in the underdeveloped areas in agriculture is around one-third of the least expensive job created in industry in these areas.

He stressed that this is the most important area to

which the institution should direct its attention.

Another vital problem area, he continued, was the lack of effective communication between engineers in the private sector and their counterparts in the public sector.

Effective communication cannot happen while the present earnings disparity exists.

The conditions of employment must be such that an easy movement of individuals between the public and private sectors is possible.

A "slimmed down" public sector, super-competent and suitably remunerated, must enjoy all-round respect when entrusted with the conceptual planning of national projects which are to be managed and executed by the private sector.

In effect, Dr Skeen concluded, a steeply inclined public sector hierarchy with a peak comparable to that of the private sector must operate in conjunction with the private sector.

In this way, two-way horizontal mobility as an essential to success will be facilitated.

CSO: 4700/1067

RESERVE BANK GOVERNOR ON ECONOMIC OPTIONS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 28 Mar 82 p 12

[Article by Stephen Orpen]

[Text]

**In an exclusive interview with a key architect of this week's Budget — Governor of the Reserve Bank Dr Gerhard de Kock — the editor of Business Times uncovers the thinking behind current economic and financial policy for the next two years ... and the likely impact on business and economic conditions, standards of living, unemployment, trade, inflation and the balance of payments**

**Business Times:** Following the Budget, what are the main options facing the managers of the South African economy?

**Dr De Kock:** There are three basic policy options:

- Management by Reaganomics and pure monetary means.
- Management by fiscal means.
- Or the South American route and hyper-inflation.

In the past two years our economy has been protected from the worst effects of the deepening recession overseas by monetary policy: a flexible exchange rate and interest rates.

Now we are shifting some of the emphasis to fiscal — that is tax — policies. The third, South American, option is clearly to be avoided at all costs.

**BT:** What are the pros and cons of these key options?

**Dr D K:** The so-called supply-side option of Reaganomics rests on low taxes, large deficits in the national accounts before borrowing and freedom for interest rates to rise still further. This puts all the emphasis on monetary policy, which may help crush inflation.

But, if taken to extremes, it also allows the cost of money to go through the roof, thus killing the ability of business, and especially agriculture, to finance growth. The danger is that recession can become outright depression. . . .

**BT:** Isn't the new US preference for the word "depression" too hysterical?

**Dr D K:** No. In my opinion, and I'm no expert, the Americans could face very serious times.

**BT:** And the "fiscal" option?

**Dr D K:** This is what we have seen being strengthened in the mini-Budget and this week's main Budget. So far, we can thank monetary policy for the fact that we have not landed in a really disastrous situation.

The fact that we have allowed the rand to depreciate from \$1.34 to less than \$1 to the rand has kept the domestic economy active by ensuring that we got much more in rands for many of our exports at a time when these were way ahead of imports.

Also, the fact that we have allowed our interest rates to

climb rapidly to become positive — that is, above the inflation rate — has drawn money out of the overheated business system and, above all, prevented domestic business borrowing in South Africa rather than overseas.

It has also brought the discount houses and virtually all the banks into the Reserve Bank and public-sector instruments, like Treasury Bills, thus reducing the creation of still more inflationary credit for the private sector.

We are now hearing complaints about this, which encourages us to feel the policy is finally working.

**BT:** Then why turn to more fiscal support?

**Dr D K:** This allows the Government to borrow less at a time when we are approaching the limits to what can be allowed here.

It also moderates the limits to which interest rates must be allowed to climb. Obviously these rates cannot be allowed to rise indefinitely, just as, on the exchange rate, one cannot allow the rand to depreciate indefinitely.

ly against the dollar.

But the disadvantage of most fiscal options is that they lock you in. The Minister of Finance may change general sales tax by about 2% between parliamentary sessions, but he cannot otherwise adjust his tax package should economic conditions demand it between sessions.

By contrast, interest rates and exchange-rate adjustments and "management" can be changed at any time.

I could stop rates rising tomorrow simply by "printing more money" — that is, by allowing more credit to be offered to farmers and others at lower rates of interest.

But that would be highly inflationary....

BT: In other words, you want a better mix of fiscal and monetary policies, but with monetary policies leading?

Dr D K: Our overriding objective is to ensure that on no account we yield to the temptation at this stage to resort to the printing press and add a higher growth in the money supply.

We are determined to keep inflation in check and, in due course, get it down.

On the other hand, we can't go overboard on this or we risk damaging the economic growth levels we must average annually to hold down the growth in unemployment and in economic activity.

BT: There has been criticism that the Government relied

too heavily on the gold price during the boom to protect us from cold economic winds elsewhere. What is your view?

Dr D K: Who could have foreseen that there would be such a tremendous drop in the price? The average price came down 25% last year and the day-to-day price has already fallen another 21% in the two-and-a-half months since January 1 this year.

That means that the country's revenue from gold has fallen since the late Seventies from R10 000-million to a revenue for us of under R2 000-million — which could drop below R1 000-million this coming year.

I doubt that will happen, but we have to plan for the possibility.

Against this background, I think one must admit we haven't done too badly to keep the real drop, after allowing for the depreciation of the rand, to only 16% last year and 14,5% since January this year.

BT: Where do we stand now?

Dr D K: Surprisingly well. Things could have been much worse. It may be that our scoring rate has got bogged down, and will stay that way for a while. But at least we've a respectable few runs on the board.

However, I would not like to underestimate the difficul-

ties. In fact, I am encouraged that so many people seem at last to be realising just how tough things could become. We must be realistic.

One factor which bothers us is that we are still somewhat in the dark about whether business is yet pulling in its horns sufficiently or continuing to press ahead regardless, building up excessive inventories and so on.

My gut feeling is that business activity is still generally too warm rather than too cold. We don't want to discourage this activity unnecessarily, of course.

But nor do we want to have to get tougher still to stop people getting themselves into deep trouble.

BT: What of future business prospects and the standard of living?

Dr D K: No one can say with any certainty when the next upswing will come. But I favour the idea that it should begin about halfway through next year.

And, when it comes, I expect it to be very rapid, not least because the rand is so depreciated against the dollar — if it still is!

In the meantime, it is clear we will never reduce the current 13,6% rate of inflation on an annual basis if the rand depreciation is allowed to go too far. Yet we are deter-

mined to get inflation down.

People must realise, however, that for each set of policy options there are costs, too.

We cannot draw inflation down rapidly, keep the rand depreciated, improve the balance of payments and look for a rapid recovery in the gold price and the rate of economic growth in company profits, in jobs filled and in standards of living as long as there is depression or recession in the economies of our main trading partners, plus domestic drought and resource bottlenecks.

However, if Graeme Pollock can race to his century from, say, a personal total of 50 after struggling to get his eye in for the first 50, so can the economy.

Remember, only a year or two back, our TB rate was only around 4% and Bankers' Acceptances at 6%, while the prime overdraft rate in the US was already nudging 20%.

In interest rates and in the gold price, there's been a tremendous change since then. Our monetary and exchange-rate policies have saved the day if not prevented pain, of which we must expect more for some 18 months.

These policies, carefully mixed with fiscal measures, will again be a great help when recovery comes.



## ALUMINIUM INDUSTRY EXPANSION REPORTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 21 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Andrew McNulty]

[Text]

A MAJOR new development promises exciting times in the aluminium industry.

The market for aluminium products used in building and construction could be significantly developed and broadened as a result of an expansion programme planned by Wispeco, the Metkor company.

This is the view of Stan Savage, managing director of the Wispeco group.

In a move towards backward-integration, the main aspect of the programme will be a new aluminium extrusion plant to be established at a cost of R2,75-million.

As a result Wispeco will be involved in extrusion, fabrication and finishings of aluminium products aimed at the "architectural" aluminium market, worth R40-million a year.

The plant will produce at a rate of about 1 500 tons a year in the first year, almost completely fulfilling the group's

current needs of about 1 600 tons a year.

Machinery is to be shipped from the United Kingdom and the plant is planned to be operating at the Wispeco factory in Alrode, Alberton, in six months.

Wispeco, with a market share of about 25% in the architectural market, is by far the largest user of extruded aluminium in the field but has to obtain all its extruded material from only two suppliers, Huletts and Almex.

"The result is that we have suffered with prices of the material.

"There has been an almost irresponsible attitude towards prices in the past on the part of both Alusaf, which supplies the billets, and of the extrusion suppliers.

"We expect to be in a more stable position by doing our own extrusion," Mr Savage says.

A second important benefit, he says, will be that they will be strongly motivated to develop and market new product ranges, ultimately also to the benefit of competing fabricators.

"There is a limit to the scope for this, but certainly the end-user is going to have the opportunity of wider choices."

Although the extrusion plant will produce about 1 500 tons working in single shift in the first year, it is planned for a capacity of 2 600 tons by working on double shift later.

However, little impact is expected to be felt in the extrusion industry as there are no plans to sell the extruded metal on the open market.

"This could be a longer-term possibility, but we have no wish to de-stabilise the market or to compete indirectly with ourselves," Mr Savage says.

In other developments, a sophisticated paint plant has been established at a cost of about R350 000, to widen the range of aluminium finishings, and R500 000 has been spent on facilities to produce more durable and corrosion-resistant-steel door-frame finishes.

CSC: 4700/1067

## NPI REPORTS HIGH COST OF DIVERSIFICATION

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 28 Mar 82 p 1

[Article from the "Times in Industry" feature, by Ireen Spicer]

[Text]

THE tendency by local manufacturers to diversify, costs the country a great deal each year in lost productivity, says the National Productivity Institute (NPI).

"The change over from the production of one product to another takes time, and the cost of this lost time is added to the end price of the product," points out Mike Loww, the institute's industrial engineering manager.

Mr Loww says that within a diverse manufacturing set-up an "interflow" production system, where various groups of machines are fed with different batches which have more often than not been routed by computerised scheduling, gives the best productivity.

"However, interflow is difficult to control and the specialist skills required demand trained, educated people," says Mr Loww.

"Another feature of interflow is that one production run tends to eat into the time allocated for a different product. In this way, millions of rands are wasted each year on specific orders."

The statistics speak for themselves. For the period 1963 to 1977, South Africa was at the bottom of the list of eight countries (US, Canada, Japan, UK, France, West Germany, Italy and SA) in growth per output per man hour in manufacturing with 1.1 percent per annum. Japan was tops with a growth of 8.4 percent.

Mr Loww says that during his service with the institute he has not encountered any one product which has reached optimal production level.

"I believe that companies which could have specialised but which have not taken the opportunity, particularly during the recent boom, have been shortsighted.

"Unless the South African economy in total begins to think about specialising, we will be in a weak position to compete on international markets.

"Specialisation is a very effective way to develop as an industrial nation."

But can the local market accommodate the long production runs and high volumes which are the result of specialisation?

Mike Loww believes it can.

"There is a vast potential market yet to be developed in the black population sector which could accommodate the majority of products," he says.

Dr Jan Visser, executive director of the NPI, believes the high standard of living enjoyed by South Africans should attract manufacturers to increased productivity.

"As the standard of living improves, so people will consume more. This can only be done if more is produced economically, that is, if productivity increases."

Dr Visser points out that increased national productivity would create more job opportunities.

"Management, however, must be strong enough to improve productivity."

CSO: 4700/1067

## COMPANIES SUBSIDIZE HIRING OF POLISH REFUGEES

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 28 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Colin Bower]

[Text]

"WE'RE paying the price of job reservation," says the managing director of a company which is spending a conservatively estimated R5 500 a family to recruit Polish mechanics in Vienna, and establish them with their families in South Africa.

The figure he refers to excludes the 80% Government subsidy which he receives on the cost of air fares for the immigrants, and also excludes other hidden subsidies by way of tax relief his company enjoys on recruitment costs.

Although no figures were available to Business Times regarding the full cost to the economy of recruiting Polish skills, a fair estimate per person might be in the region of R10 000.

So far, the Department of the Interior has admitted 1 071 Poles, which would indicate a cost to the economy of about R10-million.

Of those admitted, about half are breadwinners.

**Cheap or expensive skills?**  
The recruiting Government and private-sector companies, which include Rand Mines, Gencor, Anglo American, LTA, Escom, Iscor and Sasol, obviously believe that their outlay is worthwhile, though the cost-effectiveness of their decisions clearly depends on Government subsidies.

It could also be said that the purchase price for the quality of skills being purchased — often professional and multi-disciplinary skills — is reasonable.

On the other hand, it might also be said that R10-million would have bought a great deal in the way of educational and training facilities, thereby enabling South Africa to make use of its own human resources.

Money spent on training facilities benefits succeeding generations of students — money spent on outright purchase of skills offers benefits over a single working lifetime.

What the import of skills highlights is the cost to the country of years of inadequate education and training spending, and of restrictive labour policies.

Also, the costs of overseas recruitment give some indication of the amounts the country must be prepared to spend to procure its own skills.

According to representatives of recruiting firms, incentives and allowances to incoming Poles normally include an initial payment which could be equivalent to a month's salary, and help by way of either loans or outright payments to establish families in accommodation, and to provide them with transport.

Harold Johnson, managing director of Johnson Crane Hire, says that the eight Polish mechanics he has recruited are being provided with free accommodation for a month on arrival.

In addition, his firm is giving them all their basic household needs. "Our new employees are an investment, and we believe we must ensure that they are properly bedded in to their new society and home."

Rand Mines' overseas recruiting policy is not confined to the Polish, and personnel director Don King said: "We don't view recruiting as the answer to South Africa's skilled-labour shortage. The answer — and our policy — is to train our own vast labour potential here."

Annica Foxcroft, a director of Inter-man, a business communication skills and language training company, says that companies which do not take the cultural acclimatisation of their newly recruited Poles seriously will not be in a position to make full use of their outstanding skills.

"These people often arrive frightened, uprooted and traumatised. To push them through a language laboratory does not amount to an adequate initiation programme."

## BOART OVERSEAS EXPANSION REPORTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 28 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Andrew McNulty: "Boart Deep into U.S., Australia"]

[Text]

**THE** R528-million Boart International group, wholly owned by Anglo American Industrial Corp (Amic), is spreading widening tentacles overseas — but is also feeling the pinch of weak international metal markets.

Already the largest exploration drilling and related equipment company in the world with its holding of the US-based Longyear, Boart's South African contribution to earnings declined to 43% in 1981 while North American and Australian earnings rose to total 37%.

In the year to December 31, Boart's sales rose by 30.7% from R404.1-million to R525.5-million and attributable income rose by 30.6% from R29.7-million to R38.8-million.

The group chairman, Hylton Davies, says in his annual statement that major contributors to growth were exploration drilling equipment and contracting operations in the US, Canada, Mexico and

Australia, and percussion drilling activities in Canada.

"These performances were achieved despite the overall depressing effect of low prices for most metals, including uranium.

"In general, the effect of metal prices on exploration activities is delayed so that we have been benefiting from price levels ruling in previous years," he says.

Mr Davies notes that the group has been through a major growth phase with substantial expansion in facilities.

Major capital expenditure programmes have been undertaken in the US, Canada, Australia and Mexico, and at several centres in South Africa.

"I expect the recent surge in expenditure to decline as we enter a quieter period of consolidation."

Conditions in 1982 will be difficult, Mr Davies says, because of low prices of precious and base metals, the depressed state of the world economy and continuing high interest rates.

A further boost from the rand/dollar exchange rate looks unlikely.

Reviewing operations, Mr

Davies says that exploration drilling equipment, tools and services — which accounted for 52% of sales last year compared with 47% in 1980 — showed gains in North America, Mexico, Canada and Australia that strained the company's resources at times.

"In Australia the Adelaide and Melbourne based operations were fully stretched and both achieved unprecedented levels of sales and earnings."

The percussion drilling equipment and tools division — responsible for 24% of sales — remained buoyant despite metal prices, but suffered from pressure on margins due to increased competition.

The orientation towards the mining industry has shielded this business area from the effects of drastic reductions in construction activity in North America and Europe, Mr Davies says.

"In South Africa, after a slow start due to overstocking and stricter cost control on the mines, the larger companies performed well but without the significant growth of previous years."

## ECONOMIC GROWTH, EMPLOYMENT LINKED TO PRICE OF GOLD

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 21 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by Andrew McNulty]

[Text] **THE gold price will have to rise to above \$500 before South Africa can confidently get back on the track of buoyant economic growth and avoid rising unemployment.**

This is the harsh dilemma faced by Owen Horwood, Minister of Finance, on the eve of Wednesday's Budget.

The plummeting gold price in the past fortnight has left the economy balanced on a knife edge.

An austere Budget that could bring higher taxes for companies and individuals, higher excise duties and a new loan levy looks an inevitable consequence.

At the same time, Mr Horwood will be at pains to avoid deflating wilting confidence, a vital factor in ensuring that the economy yet achieves the 3% to 3.5% growth that some economists and leading businessmen believe is still possible this year.

The source of about 51% of South Africa's foreign-exchange earnings, the gold price sank on Monday to \$312, the lowest point since August 1979, and by Friday had recovered only slightly to \$316.

A small but growing band of leading bullion and gold-share analysts believe that the floor has been reached — particularly as gold shares reacted only mildly to Monday's low point — and are forecasting a steady rise to above the \$400 level in coming months.

Even if the gold price stabilises and goes on to a rising trend, virtually nobody sees any compelling reasons to expect a dramatic upwards movement.

Mr Horwood is almost certain to assume in his Budget that gold will average no more than \$350 to \$370.

The average price so far this year is only \$368.50.

In its forecast for minerals earnings in 1982, the SA Minerals Bureau calculates that, on an average gold price of \$425, foreign-exchange earnings by gold would be about R8.6-million compared with R8.5-million last year, when South Africa had a huge balance-

of-payments deficit of R4 000-million.

This forecast may even be optimistic because it assumes that South Africa gold production will rise by as much as 12 tons to 670 tons compared with 658 tons in 1981, based largely on expansions and new mines such as Beisa coming on stream.

If the gold price averages \$350, gold's foreign-exchange earnings would fall by at least R1 122-million.

Taxation from the gold mines — an important source of revenue for the Government — would be substantially lower, a result of the large capital expenditure programmes under way (which the taxman assists) but mainly of the fast-sinking profitability of the gold industry.

In sharp contrast to the dramatic days of two years ago, the gold industry is in a parlous state, with 11 mines facing losses at the current gold price: Deelkraal (whose break-even point is \$351.99), Durban Deep (\$310.77), ERPM (\$414.14), Elandsrand (\$417.99), Leslie (\$319.51), Lorraine (\$393.97), Marievale (\$315.74), Venters (\$369.55), WR Cons (\$551), W Areas (\$360.97) and Wit Nigel (\$478.42).

Eight of these mines — Durban Deep, ERPM, Leslie, Lorraine, Stilfontein, Venters, WR Cons and Wit Nigel — are on the state assistance scheme, and the rest are also candidates, which is a further drain on the taxman's resources.

The grim climate was emphasised again this week by ERPM's announcement that the expansion phase of the mine's R300-million capital-expenditure programme has been terminated and the modernisation phase may be curtailed in the near future.

Of all the mines that were encouraged by the high gold prices two years ago to embark on major capital programmes, ERPM was the most vulnerable because its plans were based on an assumed average gold price of \$600 during the first eight years of the programme.

With working costs of \$414.14/oz in the December quarter, ERPM is a marginal mine — most other mines' expansion plans will go ahead because they are lower-cost operations and for some the burden is eased also by conservative dividend payments in the past.



## BRIEFS

VORSTER HIT--CAPE TOWN--The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has accused the former State President, Mr John Vorster, of "playing with words" with regard to the term power sharing. Referring to Mr Vorster's denial yesterday that he supported or propagated power sharing during his term as Prime Minister and thereafter, Mr Botha said: "When the 1977 constitutional proposals were put before the Cabinet, various members openly said it contained elements of power-sharing." He said the cabinet had decided, after having thoroughly discussed the issue, to accept the word "co-responsibility" because the term power sharing was being misused and because the form of power sharing, as the Progressive Federal Party saw it, was not acceptable for the National Party. Mr Botha reiterated that he had rejected the PFP's form of power sharing in a statement on March 22. In the same statement he had said the 1977 proposals were a healthy form of power sharing, to which he added "the NP chose to refer to co-responsibility." What he said exactly corresponded with what Mr Vorster had said in Parliament on April 12, 1978. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Apr 82 p 4]

STUDENTS SUPPORT TREURNICHT--Support for Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party is mushrooming on the campus of Pretoria's traditionally ultra-conservative and Christian National-orientated Onderwyskollege. Students at the biggest of the Transvaal's three Afrikaans teachers' colleges say they are almost four-square behind the new party, and an impromptu survey carried out on the campus puts this support at nearly 80 per-cent of all students. According to a spokesman for the college's Students' Representative Council, Rightwing support among students for the Rightwing parties as a whole is nearly 90 per-cent--with 12,2 per-cent of the students quizzed claiming to back the Herstigte Nasionale Party. Outright National Party support was listed by only 10,45 percent of the students--while the Progressive Federal Party managed to muster 0,21 percent. Student leaders at Pretoria University say the new party is rapidly gaining support on that campus as well--but that it is probably still in a minority. Many students, The Citizen was told, were "fence sitting"--ready to jump on to the Treurnicht bandwagon if it appeared to be gathering speed. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Apr 82 p 5]

INKATHA MEETINGS--Several branches of Inkatha will hold meetings over the weekend to prepare for this annual general conferences in April and May. Mr Zwamandla Mzobe, said its meeting could be held at the Dube Chapel at 2 am on Sunday. All branches under his region would attend and were The

Orange-Vaal region of the organisation will also hold its meeting on Sunday at the Hall 2000 in Sharpville, Vereeniging. Another meeting of the organisation will be held by the Sebokeng branch at 20392, Zone 14 in Sebokeng. [Text] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 25 Mar 82 p 13]

BUDGET HITS BLACKS--URBAN blacks face a bleak year if Mr Owen Horwood's 1982 budget is anything to go by. Apart from a widening in the racial gap in pensions, a massive expected increase in the price of bread, the rise in the price of paraffin and projected increases in transport costs and rentals, there is more bad news for urban blacks. The Department of Co-operation and Development has voted nearly double the amount than it did last year for maintaining influx control, indicating that tightening up of the application of influx control is likely. The total estimates for items on influx control show a jump from R3 600 000 last year to more than R6-million this year. The amount for residential control has more than doubled from R1-million to R2 100 000. In contrast to the vast increase in influx control expenditure the amount voted for black social welfare has only increased marginally by 10%--which means a cut of 3,5% in real terms with the inflation rate running at 13,5%. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 26 Mar 82 p 1]

POWER ELECTRONICS--The Rand Afrikaans University is the only university in the Republic which offers non-elective undergraduate study in power electronics for its electrical engineering students, reports Professor Daan van Wyk, dean of the engineering faculty established this year. The university also offers post-graduate study to masters and doctorate level in power electronics. [Excerpt] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 28 Mar 82 p 3]

LEYLAND SA'S EXPANSION--In an unexpected display of confidence in its ability to swell penetration in the SA transport market, Leyland South Africa is to launch a large expansion and modernisation programme at its manufacturing and assembly plants. At a cost of R20 million, the extensions will virtually double the company's production capacity to 30 000 units a year and bring its investment in this country to R95-million. Included will be the installation of equipment for manufacturing the Renault 9, a new parts warehouse and an "ultra-modern" paint shop. The company has bought land adjacent to its Elsies River plant in the Cape, and construction is starting virtually immediately. The Renault 9, a 1 400 cc medium-sized family car, will be in volume production by February next year, and the company is looking for sales of 15 000 units in the first year of production. The expansion will be financed by the SA company, currently marketing the Land-Rover, Range Rover, Mini, Rover range, Jaguar XJ six and XJS, Triumph TR7 and MGB, with the last four being wholly imported. Plans are also in hand to introduce the Daimler "Double Six". Imports of all luxury cars rose to 5 641 units valued at R77-million in 1981 compared with 2 828 units worth R35,6-million in 1980. [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 21 Mar 82 p 3]

CSO: 4700/1067

DISPUTE BETWEEN GOVERNMENT, LIPAD REPORTED

CMRPN-LIPAD Friction

Ouagadougou L'OBSERVATEUR in French 19 Jan 82 p 7

[Text] The rumor had been going around since Saturday [16 January] and reached us as almost a certain fact on Sunday just when we were putting our edition of Monday 18 January to bed. Reportedly, members of LIPAD [Patriotic League for Development] had been questioned and then detained by the security services. Those mentioned at the time were Philippe Ouedraogo, Hamidou Coulibaly, and Yacouba Ouedraogo, respectively director of the TAMBAO projects [not otherwise identified], working for the CEA0 [Confederation of West African Students], and working in the office of the TAMBAO projects.

Yesterday morning the rumor was confirmed, thanks to a document made public by the National Bureau of LIPAD, whose president and secretary general are, respectively, Hamidou Coulibaly and Philippe Ouedraogo. According to this document, the questioning began on Saturday 16 January and was conducted by the Surete National, "where they were held for a long time under guard and then were transferred during the night to the CRS [republican security companies] camp, where they are presently being held."

The document adds that at the same time, the LIPAD headquarters at Zogona was searched; stencils and the first proof of a special issue of PATRIOTE (issue No 22), the publication of LIPAD, were seized.

The document then analyzes this action by the security authorities as an arbitrary act and a serious attack against the freedom of the press, "after the flagrant violations of democratic and trade union liberties."

LIPAD considers that it has always respected the laws in force, making available to the censorship authorities copies of its publication before it is distributed. The document concludes with a condemnation of the action in question and a demand for the immediate release of those detained.

At the moment when we were writing these lines, it was still impossible for us to know whether or not the persons concerned had been released. Nor had any official version of these events come to our attention concerning, above

all, the reasons for these arrests. From a trustworthy source, however, it would seem that the motive for these actions was, among other things, the cover of PATRIOTE, which carried a photograph of Toure Soumane, secretary general of the dissolved Voltan Trade Union Confederation, who has been sought by the authorities, as we know, after his resignation from the inquiry committee. (We have dealt with the question in several editions of our publication.) Under the said photograph there was a quotation drawn from the speech given by the person concerned on the occasion of the opening of the meeting of the Trade Union Council of the CSV [Voltan Trade Union Confederation].

The passage apparently contained the following: "No person, no political regime in the present situation that Upper Volta is in should live under the illusion that the workers of Upper Volta will give up their liberties or that they will stand by and see them flouted or, what is even more serious, canceled."

#### Government Version

Ouagadougou L'OBSERVATEUR in French 20 Jan 82 pp 1, 9-10

[Interview with Bema Ouattara, minister of justice and keeper of the seals; interview held at Justice Ministry building on 19 January]

[Text] Our issue which appeared yesterday carried an item under the headline "CMRPN-LIPAD" [Military Committee for the National People's Recovery-Patriotic League for Development] which has met with an official response. As of yesterday, in fact, the minister of justice and keeper of the seals, Bema Ouattara, who is temporarily filling in for his colleague in the Ministry of Interior and Security, has been available to journalists from the national radio and television services.

This interview provides government confirmation of the facts which we related--this time with the addition of other elements, such as the discovery of a leaflet at LIPAD headquarters and the detention of the director of the National Printing Office. The following, as transcribed by our office, is the interview with the minister.

[Question] Minister, according to more and more persistent rumors, confirmed this morning by the daily newspaper L'OBSERVATEUR, our colleague the PATRIOTE and certain leaders of LIPAD have been seized and arrested. Can you confirm this news for us?

[Answer] This morning you are at the Ministry of Justice, but perhaps it is as well, for your listeners [as published], to make it clear that it is in the name of the minister of interior, whose position I temporarily occupy,



that I am speaking. As you know, my colleague is absent, and I have been charged with filling in for him. It is correct that since Saturday, certain leaders of LIPAD have been interrogated in the framework of an administrative inquiry connected with the editing of the newspaper PATRIOTE. The persons concerned are presently under detention.

[Question] Can you give us the identity of the persons arrested and the actions of which they are accused?

[Answer] As I said, certain persons have been interrogated in the framework of an administrative inquiry, and this inquiry has not yet been completed. It could be that the list of persons who might be called in for interrogation may be extended or not. The principal leaders of LIPAD who have been interrogated are: Philippe Ouedraogo, director of the TAMBAO projects, whom you certainly know, Hamidou Coulibaly, and an employee of LIPAD.

In addition to these leaders of LIPAD, I should add that Felix Marie Ouedraogo, director of the National Printing Office, has also been detained.

[Question] It is also believed that a leaflet has been discovered--a tract signed by 13 trade unions calling on the workers affiliated with these trade unions to go on strike. Could you tell us the identity of these trade unions?

[Answer] On the afternoon of Friday 15 January, the director general of the National Printing Office informed the secretary general of the Ministry of Interior of the preparation of the newspaper in his offices. He added that this cover looked to him like the preparation in his offices of the newspaper PATRIOTE. He added that this cover seemed very shocking to him and, as a consequence, he had suspended delivery of the publication. Perhaps it should be emphasized that the cover in question contained a photo of Soumane Toure, with a quotation of his, a rather violent quotation. Following the receipt of this information, the Ministry of Interior gave certain instructions to the police. On 16 January 1982 at about 12:15 pm the police went to LIPAD headquarters, where the newspaper was being prepared. LIPAD had its covers printed elsewhere, and LIPAD itself duplicated the stencils for the newspaper. At LIPAD headquarters, the police confiscated pages of the newspaper which had already been printed, together with the stencils which had not been run off. And in the same place there was found a one-page leaflet--a leaflet dated 14 January 1982 calling for general mobilization for a struggle and signed, as you have indicated, by 13 trade unions. These trade unions are filed here: you have the FSVCI [not otherwise identified], SATV [not otherwise identified], CNACTH [not otherwise identified], CNTC [not otherwise identified], CNTPA [not otherwise identified], STOV [not otherwise identified], SUVESS [Sole Voltan Union of Teachers of Secondary and Higher Education], SYNAGRI [National Union of Agricultural Workers], SYNPAF, SYNTSHA, SUMAC, SYNPTA, and SVTS [last five unions not otherwise identified].

[Question] You have just given the reasons which led to the arrest of the LIPAD leaders, but what will happen to the 13 trade unions which signed the leaflet?



[Answer] This leaflet is signed by 13 trade unions, calling for a general mobilization for struggle. It remains to be determined what form this struggle will take. At present we have laws which are quite precise and clear in all areas. If the trade union leaflet was prepared with the purpose of leading a strike, we have laws which we will apply. If the leaflet was in other areas which may relate to penal action, the laws will be applied.

[Question] We know that in terms of the press, arrest and imprisonment take place only in case of a repetition of an offense, whereas PATRIOTE has been seized for the first time. Were there previous incidents?

[Answer] You know that where the press is concerned, an action may take place outside the framework of the laws on the press. And when an action can be hidden under other actions, it is the duty of the Ministry of Interior to do everything necessary to maintain public order. And as I said, at present we are engaged in an administrative inquiry to learn exactly what is behind all that.

[Question] Why the arrest of the director of the National Printing Office, since it seems that it was he who was the first to sound the alarm?

[Answer] In effect, the arrest of the director of the National Printing Office may be surprising. However, if you have carefully followed the string of events, you cannot be surprised. He is the first to have informed the Ministry of Interior that he was shocked by the cover without having seen the contents, and he assured the Ministry of Interior that he had suspended the delivery of the 2,000 copies which he had already printed. When the Ministry of Interior sent the police to take possession of these covers, the police learned that the covers had been delivered. Why?

Was this a little game to cover himself? His act leads to suspicions. That is why for the moment he is under guard, as are the others, to attempt to clarify the situation. [end of interview]

[Comment by L'OBSERVATEUR:] The official term "administrative inquiry," adopted to define the action under way, is very astute. Thus it takes away any argument from those who would wish to rely on Law No 20 of 31 August 1959 concerning the press and press crimes in order to judge the procedural regularity of this action."

#### Affair Resolved Temporarily

Ouagadougou L'OBSERVATEUR in French 19-21 Feb 82 pp 12-13

[Excerpts] Dear Wambi: Nothing's going on. We have gone very quickly from blessed euphoria to disenchantment and then to a psychosis. Our sleep is haunted by dreams. We are afraid. We are afraid. This is the general atmosphere, and thus it is the will of the bosses: let it be done. Amen.

Having said that, how is the weather in the village? Here the heat has come unexpectedly. It is hard, with all of its leaden weight. The cicadas are

singing, telling the boys of the opening of the season for hunting the little gray lizards, and the nere [local flower] and karite [local flower] have come into bloom. Soon the mango showers will begin, and it will be Sign-Noen [festival] time. We are waiting for nature; at least she is milder.

To close, dear cousin, you should know that the Patriotic League for Development [LIPAD] on 9 February made public a paper in which it announced officially the release of four of its members who had been arrested, as we all know. In this paper, LIPAD states that, prior to the release of those who were detained, "the chief of state indicated to them that the cover of issue No 22 of PATRIOTE, as well as the contents intended to be published in this issue (which had not yet been run off or, of course, distributed at the time of the seizure which took place on 16 January 1982), were considered by the government to be 'outrageous,' and that LIPAD would be dissolved 'in case there were a repetition of such an action.'"

The LIPAD paper concludes: "LIPAD thanks all those who, in their various ways, have provided their moral and even material support to our arrested colleagues, to their families, and to LIPAD. LIPAD particularly thanks all Voltan democrats who concretely displayed their rejection of these new, arbitrary measures by the CMRPN [Military Committee for the National People's Recovery].

"To all Voltan democrats, to all Voltan patriots, to the whole Voltan people, LIPAD reaffirms that neither intimidation nor threats nor arbitrary arrests will prevent LIPAD and Voltan patriots from doing their duty as patriots and from telling the truth to the Voltan people."

So life goes.

Till we meet again. Your cousin, Passek Taale.

5170

CSO: 4719/701

## BRIEFS

DEATH OF MOBUTU'S UNCLE--Two weeks ago President Mobutu's uncle, Litho Mobuti, died in a Paris clinic from sclerosis of the liver. Litho was distinguished as Zaire's most corrupt and richest businessman, although the president is a good deal richer. As the mainstay to the Gbadolite Clan (named after Mobutu's home village in Equateur region), Litho's death leaves Mobutu short of a business confidant and adviser. Moleka Liboko, Mobutu's nephew, is expected to inherit the Litho mantle, although Seti Yale, Mobutu's security adviser, will probably have his advisory tasks increased. [Text] [Paris AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English Vol 23, No 6, 17 Mar 82 p 81]

CSO: 4700/1058

## DEMOBILIZATION PAY FRAUD EXPOSED

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 27 Mar 82 p 1

[Text]

**ALMOST 200 men who have been drawing demobilisation pay as ex-ZIPRA combatants have been exposed as impostors. The Directorate of Demobilisation announced yesterday that the operation to root out others was continuing.**

The exercise — involving a knowledge-of-weapons test — started following information received by the directorate that most of the recently demobilised ex-combatants particularly from Gwai River Mine Camp were not ex-ZIPRA members.

The director of the demobilisation programme, Mr John Shoniwa, said that their official records had indicated that there were 1 900 ex-ZIPRA combatants at the camp.

But the number swelled almost overnight to 3 000 when the demobilisation of the ex-combatants at the camp was announced. It finally reached 4 500 when they were told to report at the demobilisation centre which had been set up at Llewellyn Barracks.

All were recorded and issued with Post Office Savings Bank books and identification to enable them to draw the \$185 per month demobilisation pay for two years.

But last week the directorate issued a "stop pay order" to the POSB after 41 people claiming to be ex-ZIPRA had been identified as fakes in Salisbury.

Two demobilisation officials, Mr John Gwitira and Mr Chikombe Madala, were dispatched to Bulawayo on Thursday to sort out the mess.

They set up shop at a church hall at Njube and told more than 1 000 men and women complaining about their pay that they would have to go through a certain test to confirm their having been combatants.

The test was for each man or woman ex-combatant to disassemble and reassemble a rifle or a machinegun in a "reasonable time".

The exercise which went on most of Thursday afternoon and the whole of yesterday saw several of those already issued with POSB books failing the test miserably.

Others, not wanting to take the risk, simply slipped away without waiting their turn.

The test, which was being conducted to a large extent by some ex-ZIPRA commanders, was described as "satisfactory" by those who had no problems stripping the guns and putting them back

together.

Not so for those who failed. They complained bitterly, some claiming that they had used different kinds of guns in the war.

Ex-ZIPRA commanders Mr Mabutho Mlungisi and Mr Stanley Ndhlovu said they were satisfied with the tests.

Mr Shoniwa said the 1 000 ex-guerillas who had been cleared in Bulawayo would start receiving their pay on Tuesday next week. "We have no problems with them," he said.

But he said they expected to net more than a thousand mujibhas in the on-going exercise. "We hope to clear this mess very soon."

But he did not say if legal action was going to be taken against those who had falsely obtained the POSB books. They might have to be content with the fact that they will be saving \$4 440 per man as the number both in Salisbury and Bulawayo is said to be huge.

MUTUMBUKA: 'SCHOOLS MUST REFLECT NATION'S IDEALS'

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 30 Mar 82 pp 6, 7, 9

[From a special feature "Focus on Education" compiled by Viv Bradley and Andrew Whaley]

[Text] **SCHOOL - GOING** children, living and working together and making friendships across racial lines, will be a shock prescription for bigoted parents; the Minister of Education and Culture, Dr Dzingai Mutumbuka, said in an interview.

"In a miniature sense, the children are playing a crucial role in trying to re-educate their parents," he said.

The minister was speaking about education's unseen role in nurturing national unity and harmony. "The process of integrating our nation must begin at school level," he said.

"The young are pragmatic. They do not see people as culture or language barriers. They see people as people."

Their truthful way of observing people would be the best weapon in combating bigotry and prejudice on both sides of the so-called colour line.

The schools had to reflect the multi-cultural patina of Zimbabwean society. "That is why the role of the teachers is crucial. That is why there is at least one black teacher in every school.

"It is not forced integration but a realisation that we are in a multi-cultural society and, as such, the school/spectrum must demonstrate that."

He added that while the great majority of teachers were accepting the chal-

lenge, there were a few "rotten fruits in the basket". But it was "these negative characteristics that we are constantly waging a war against".

"If they are allowed to flourish on surface, they will destroy the unity we are trying to achieve," he said.

Adamant that if the country was to achieve national unity the microcosm of the schools would have to reflect the nation's ideals, Dr Mutumbuka denounced relics of the British public school system which still encouraged fagging, "doeking" and "skivvyng".

He described such hierarchy as "a false structure that depicts class relations". It was a "classic example of an education system depicting the society in which it functions".

"Hierarchical structures have to disappear. If they do not they will build a social order that is in direct conflict with what we are trying to build."

The minister went on to say that prefects should be chosen by the pupils themselves and not by a headmaster. The head of a

school and his teachers, he said, "must lead, must guide, but must not impose their will on the children".

In turn, a selected prefect was a leader by example and not an authoritarian.

Similarly, it should not be assumed that "all children can do the same work". There were different tasks which had to be performed, from agriculture to manual labour to intellectual pursuits.

"What conflicts with egalitarianism is when a white collar worker is considered grossly superior to the blue collar worker."

The right attitudes had to start at school level, he said. "Unless that is done, socialism will become an empty dream."

Asked if the perpetuation of single sex schools was not contrary to the spirit of egalitarianism, the minister replied that there was "not necessarily a conflict".

He cited examples of schools in Korea where sex segregation had been operated successfully



without impeding development or socialist learning.

Dr Mutumbuka was also asked if schools which catered for the very narrow needs of a specific sector of the community might not also prejudice socialist education.

He answered: "If there is a sizeable Jewish community, they are entitled to learn Hebrew."

He added, however, that they should remember there were Zimbabweans first and Jews second, in this instance. This idea did not contradict the ideals of socialism.

"Socialism promotes the culture of minorities," he said, "but the culture of minority groups can only be guaranteed by the majority."

On the question of learning Shona as a language in Mashonaland and Ndebele in Matabeleland, Dr Mutumbuka said the ministry was trying to supply one teacher to each school.

While he wanted all pupils to learn either English and Shona or Ndebele and English after Grade 7, the critical shortage of teachers presently prevented this.

He dismissed the idea of using "just any teacher. It would be an insult to the children if we were to give them just anybody."

"It could induce ideas of hating a language and do more harm than good," he said. The minister also explained more fully what he meant in earlier speeches by "a science bias" in schools.

"Since we live in a technological era, the level of comprehension of scientific things must be raised. We must make a deliberate effort to emphasise science and technology in our training because this is essential for the transformation of our country."

The understanding of scientific principles would eradicate superstition and a knowledge of how things work would lift the veil of ignorance.

The minister suggested, for example, the virtues of learning the workings of the environment. A child had to learn that nature could be used to man's

good when science was properly understood; but that, science used badly, would result in the environment wrecking man.

"Natural resources, after people, are the second most important thing in the country," he said. "People must understand the workings of the soil, why plants grow, when they need fertiliser. We want people to grow up with concrete knowledge, having destroyed superstition."

Commenting broadly on Zimbabwe's education strategy, the minister said that uniformity of education was "at the moment an ideal, but one which we are working very hard towards achieving".

He denied that an inherited, unequal education had forced the ministry to scale down its ideals, particularly in the face of huge pupil intake pressure.

"We are going full-blast to achieve them. Although a nation may have its own financial constraints and manpower restraints, there are still children being born who need education."

"It took years and a lot of sweat to provide every child with education," he said.

It had been his task since independence to dismantle a well-established system of education. He divided that system into four main categories.

The first was the white suburban school with a low pupil to teacher ratio, plenty of equipment and government money and "probably the best system of education a child could get anywhere in the world".

It was certainly much better than education received in Britain or South Africa, he said, but it was ultimately artificial. Pupils received their teaching in a "palace enclosure".

The second category was the former township school with some government endowment, a reasonable standard of education, but a much higher pupil to teacher ratio.

The former Tribal Trust Lands made up the third category. Here, educational facilities were entirely dependent on the presence of missions.

This class had "distinctly third-class facilities", Dr Mutumbuka said, because there was no national plan embracing them. Many pupils had no access to secondary schools, less because their parents were poor than because there just weren't places for them.

The fourth class of pre-independence schooling was sometimes "so unprovided for that you begin to wonder if you can class them as having any facilities at all". This was the farm or mine compound school.

The lack of schooling for this group depicted the immorality of the education system at its peak. "They sucked the blood and energy of their workers and were able to make huge profits and live in luxury, while they sent their own children to rich schools."

The process of dismantling that unequal system had not been done yet, he said. "But we believe that what is important is to begin the process. As we always say, every journey must of necessity begin with small steps."

Since independence the Government had built 1700 classrooms, 438 teachers' houses, more than 500 headmasters' offices, more than 1500 toilets and about 465 secondary schools in all.

"We asked the parents to participate with the Government because the Government does not have the resources to overcome the problem alone."

He was confident that the education campaign would not result, as in Kenya, with "unemployed armies of the jobless" wandering the streets.

He suggested that there would be a big swing to polytechnic education and a "re-directing of training and manpower requirements".

If the university turned out 5 000 graduates, the State should be able to say what jobs and skills and professions were required.

"The colonial mentality is still with us. It will be with us for years and years. After the brain-washing, it will need a continuous period of time to de-brainwash," he said.

## Learning Plus Labour Plan Digs in for the Country

**MANY** people have responded to President Banda's appeal for material support to help about 10 000 former refugees living under harsh conditions at eight education with production schools country-wide.

He launched a nationwide appeal to raise about \$8 million to provide accommodation, dining halls, kitchens, hostels, some classrooms, beds, desks, garden tools and farm equipment, food, among other things, by donating the first \$500.

Already the staff of Fletcher High School in Gwelo has responded by donating more than \$70.

The Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production, launched by the President together with his appeal for help, has had a flood of calls from the public. The total donated so far has still to be calculated.

ZIMFEP is leading the way in implementing the policy of education with production advocated by the Government in its pilot schools for the former refugees.

To them the exercise is not new, but a continuation of the experience in the Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia bush during the war when students built and looked after their own schools.

The foundation, started last year, was to cater for

about a third of the total former refugees population of more than 30 000, and their instructors, who came from the camps in Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia after the war. They continued to be pioneers in the first eight experimental education with production schools in Zimbabwe.

Building on their experience during the struggle, they are prepared for the sacrifice, hard work and dedication required to create a new Zimbabwe.

### CAMPING

"Because of the lack of financial support, however, the former refugee children have been forced to live in tents under harsh conditions since their return to Zimbabwe in 1980," said a ZIMFEP statement.

The children were willing to build their own schools but needed tools and building materials. All the schools are located on farms, so money was needed for seeds, fertilisers, farm implements, poultry, livestock and other inputs to develop the agricultural potential.

The schools are:

● Chindunduma Primary School, Shamva: 1 600 students from Grades 1 to 7 have been resettled at the school which was officially opened by the Prime Minister, Mr Mugabe, in December last year.

● Chindunduma secondary school, Shamva: 1 100 students studying from Forms 1 to 4 at Chiruma. This school was built by a local construction firm with overseas funds but

more money is needed to build technical workshops and to develop the farms.

● Majoda Farm, West Nicholson: The farm would accommodate 1 200 secondary school students who have been living in tents at Mbongolo Farm, Nyamandlovu. Self-help building is scheduled to begin this year.

● Fatima Mission, Lupane: A primary and secondary school for 1 000 girls who were refugees in Zambia has already started at the mission which was closed down during the war. The Ministry of Education and Culture is negotiating to buy the existing buildings from the Catholic diocese of Bulawayo. Funds are needed for technical workshops and for developing the farm.

● Rusununguko School, Bromley: Caters for 1 200 students from Forms 1 to 4. While the children still live in tents, they began self-help construction in August last year and have completed two blocks of four classrooms which double as dormitories at night. Another classroom block and teachers' house was built by a local company.

● Mbongolo Farm, Nyamandlovu: A former cattle research station has been transformed into the site for a primary and secondary school for 800 students. The students have been living in tents since their return from Zambia two years ago and were moved from several different sites because of water problems. They look forward to building their new school through self-help this year.

● Nkuleleko Primary and Secondary, Midlands: 300

students have been moved from Loreto mission to Deanfield Farm. A building is being set up through self-help and with overseas funding.

● **Mavudzi Secondary, Inyazura:** The school is to start with 800 students who were previously resettled at Arcturus Farm and then Chiswana. Funds are still needed for developing the farm and production workshops.

## FOUNDATION

President Banana, who is ZIMFEP's patron, has said: "In Zimbabwe the union between knowledge and the realities of life — what we call education with production — has become the very foundation of our new ethos — and ethos of the Zimbabwean struggle for liberation ... Education which is not closely related to production is barren."

For the former refugees, Zimbabwe's hard-won independence was the first step in the long struggle to transform society. The search for new forms of education aimed at transforming Zimbabwe was begun during the armed struggle and has to be continued and intensified if a more just and egalitarian society is to be created. "That is why

ZIMFEP was established."

The foundation was set up in January last year as an instrument for innovative change in education.

ZIMFEP has been given a clear mandate to experiment with projects linking education with production to provide models for a new schools system "more relevant to the needs of Zimbabwe".

## CHARITY

It is registered as a charitable organisation in terms of the Welfare Organisations Act and is being administered by a Board of Trustees.

A full-time secretariat with four staff members was set up in November last year to carry out ZIMFEP's objectives, of promoting a revolutionary system of education, enable youth to be self-employed, raise the technological and living standards of the masses, create new job opportunities, carry out research, publish information and link schools with the local community.

Zimbabweans throughout the country who assisted the liberation struggle in many different ways by making sacrifices "must continue to support the struggle to bring meaningful change which

will make our independence a reality for the majority of our people".

ZIMFEP cannot survive and grow on overseas support alone. "We call on every Zimbabwean to help in building a new future for our children by transforming our schools".

You can help by:

● **Sponsoring one of the pilot schools** through a monthly donation to the school of your choice through ZIMFEP.

● **Becoming an associate member of ZIMFEP** by making an annual contribution of \$100 or more which would entitle you to attend ZIMFEP seminars and receive its literature;

● **Donating books, tools and farm implements;**

● **Sharing your skills.** If you have skills in building, farming, mechanics, plumbing, electronics or others you could spend some time at the schools.

● **Giving financial support.** Every wage-earning Zimbabwean, institution, company, union, church, voluntary organisation or farm could contribute to ZIMFEP's task in any way.

All donations should be addressed to ZIMFEP, P.O. Box 298 (or 85 Central Avenue), Salisbury. Telephone 22490.

ZIDS TO SUPERVISE RESEARCH AGENCIES

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 30 Mar 82 p 12

[Editorial: "Super Think-Tank"]

[Text]

**THE Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies should prove a necessary and important addition to the nation's think-tanks.**

Under the banner of "liberation socialism development", the institute may well come up with vital clues to the plethora of jigsaw puzzles littered on the revolutionary journey from a colonial to a socialist political economy.

It is to act as the big brother of all research agencies, identifying policy for formulation and implementation; co-ordinating research; liaising with research and training institutions and training Government and parastatal officials.

The need for ZIDS was identified during the liberation war. For such remarkable foresight there must be many who deserve a pat on the back.

Whether the institute lives up to the expectations of its architects and the nation now rests on the team of specialists who must transform its objectives into practical programmes.

Zimbabwe is in a terrible hurry to develop. Viable guidelines must therefore be found urgently for that development.

Much money and manpower will have been wasted if ZIDS is allowed to degenerate into a talking shop for interminable academic arguments or a factory producing volumes of verbiage by professional theorists and other learned dreamers.

That has happened too often in many developing countries.

CSO: 4700/1068

## ZIPRA CONVENTIONAL WARFARE PLANS CITED

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 27 Mar 82 p 6

[Editorial: "Men of Violence"]

[Text]

IT was common talk among Zimbabweans in Zambia at the height of the struggle that one of the reasons why Dr Joshua Nkomo and his ZIPRA High Command had refused to join ZIPA (Zimbabwe People's Army) and later the Third Force was that they feared to be "swallowed" up by ZANLA forces.

Fear has always been a dominant factor in Dr Nkomo's politics. Fear of losing power and influence in Zimbabwean politics was behind his earlier objections to any settlement that called for an election in Zimbabwe.

Fear was also one of the reasons for a massive build-up by ZAPU to prepare for a showdown with ZANLA over the future control of the country. ZIPRA training was in conventional warfare which had two aims: Firstly they wanted to be able to fight Rhodesian forces should they support ZANLA in a showdown; secondly they wanted to be ready for a full-scale civil war should there be a breakdown in law and order. In other words they wanted to be ready to grab their slice of the country.

A document prepared by ZIPRA High Command dated January 20 1978 and signed by Comrade Sifambo Dondolo had eight instructions to all ZIPRA forces. Three of these were to "capture and kill ZANLA soldiers and if possible send them back to Mozambique; hide as many weapons as possible inside Zimbabwe and propagate party policy".

The clashes two weeks ago between units of the national army and some ZIPRA men in Gwanda coupled with the discovery of arms caches is part of ZAPU's efforts to overthrow the Government. ZAPU must be made to understand that the situation in Matabeleland has reached grave proportions. What really surprises us is that Dr Nkomo has not been arrested along with others for what his lawless elements are doing to law abiding citizens. It seems inconceivable that these arms caches could have been hidden without his personal knowledge.



ZCTU WELCOMES CLAMP ON SHIRKERS

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 30 Mar 82 p 4

[Text]

**THE Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions yesterday gave its full backing to the Government's policy of withholding support from workers who hinder higher production in commerce and industry.**

The Government's position was spelt out by the Deputy Minister of Labour and Social Services, Mr Robson Manyika, when he addressed workers at Sinoia at the weekend. He said the Government was striving to increase productivity and would not tolerate irregular work habits.

In an interview yesterday, the publicity secretary of the ZCTU, Mr Elphigio Soko, said the workers should increase their production and not

"become saboteurs of their own economy and help our enemies to destroy us as a nation".

"Workers who are against increased production are economic saboteurs helping our enemies to destroy the country. We must all aim at higher production and if we do this, our salaries will no doubt also be increased," he said.

Mr Soko said that those who were involved in hindering production — one way or another — should be dismissed and the ZCTU would not hesitate to support the decision.

"People must not just get good salaries. They must earn them by working hard. We will not support people who cry for higher wages when their production is low."

He added: "Freedom did not mean laziness. Workers must work hard for the economic development of the country and trade unions should encourage higher productivity by their members."

CSO: 4700/1068

## BUILDING OF PRIVATE HOSPITALS STOPPED

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 30 Mar 82 p 1

[Text]

**THE Minister of Health, Dr Oliver Munyaradzi, has halted the building of new private hospitals in a bid to beat the manpower drain from the public health service.**

Dr Munyaradzi, the former Deputy Minister of Finance, became the Minister of Health in the Cabinet reshuffle last month.

Interviewed by the Herald, he said his ministry had stopped any new private hospitals being built. "The reason for this is to limit the drain of manpower away from the public sector and into the private sector of medicine," he said.

Asked what his ministry's policy was towards private medicine, he said: "We have got to be realistic enough to appreciate that it is a fact that the private sector is there. We as a government have a policy of socialism and we are trying to increase the involvement of the private sector in the public services.

"We are going to talk to the private sector and try to organise matters in such a way that everybody contributes as much expertise as possible to priority areas.

"We envisage that private medicine should be private and not subsidised by the Government. At the moment Government

facilities such as hospitals are being used and medical aid is still tax-free," Dr Munyaradzi said.

Of his ministry's three-year-plan Dr Munyaradzi said: "In general terms our main priority is a vigorous thrust in the development of rural health-care centres and the extension of the primary health care concept covering the rural areas and especially the remote parts of the country such as the Zambezi Valley and the far north-east, south-east and west."

Another aim was a health education programme, "so that people are aware of what they can do for themselves", he said. More emphasis would be placed on preventable diseases, such as malaria, leprosy, typhoid and measles which caused more than 60 percent of illnesses.

Asked what action his ministry was taking to lower the high infant mortality rate, he said under the primary health care programme, staff were being sent out and stationed in all areas to give mothers information on how to care for themselves during pregnancy.

"We will also provide help within reach during childbirth and continued contact with our staff during the child's young years. The immunisation programme has spread throughout the country and there is no reason why any child should not be immunised now."

There was a shortage of doctors in the country, but this was not critical. "We have increased the intake of student doctors from 40 to 80 a year and we will be discussing with the university ways to expand the number so we can become self-sufficient."

The ministry needed para-medical staff such as sisters, medical assistants and village health workers.

About 1 040 places were being offered to nurses each year and 900 village health workers were being trained throughout the country annually. Medical assistants were being trained at both government and mission hospitals.

"In the whole health-care system, we must always be mindful of the fact that people are working to alleviate the suffering of their fellow men and the job is not easy and sometimes it is thankless."

His staff also faced difficulties in finding housing in the rural areas and had poor conditions of service and low salaries in comparison with the private sector.

"We are looking at these problems with a view to easing the situation of workers in the health service and I have every confidence that they

will continue their dedicated work," he said.

Asked about the training of specialist doctors, he said that although they could be trained in Zimbabwe, they would have to get their qualifications outside the country. "This is not a priority area."

His ministry also had plans to set up a school of dentistry, but this was still in the early stages.

The ministry was also looking into ways of getting more drugs into the rural areas. "I do not see a situation arising where we could run short of drugs," Dr Munyaradzi said. We will have the essential drugs. However, people sometimes want expensive drugs when a cheaper drug will still cure them. We will always have a substitute drug that works".

Dr Munyaradzi said he felt "more at home" in the Ministry of Health than the Ministry of Finance. He was the first qualified black surgeon in the country.

But he described his experience in the Ministry of Finance as invaluable to his new post. "I am familiar with the financial constraints the country is facing and the importance of making sure the budget for the Ministry of Health considers these constraints."

## BRIEFS

**MORE JOIN ZANU (PF)**--A UANC candidate for the Midlands province in the 1980 general elections, Mr Reuben Ndawana, and about 10 ZAPU supporters in Enkeldoorn have joined ZANU (PF). Mr Ndawana, who was the UANC's district secretary for the area, says in his letter of resignation that he considers the UANC has lost its direction. Calling on his fellow UANC supporters to join ZANU (PF) Mr Ndawana in his letter says the 1980 general elections results were a good example of where the support and wishes of the masses of the country lay. He felt the UANC had lost its support in both the area and the country. "I feel I have a duty to do in our country and that is working together with ZANU (PF) and I think it is time my fellow supporters in that organisation joined hands with the masses," reads his letter. Reasons for resignations of the ZAPU supporters in Enkeldoorn ranged from shock and dismay at the recent discovery of arms of war on ZAPU-owned property in the country to having joined the party by mistake. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 29 Mar 82 p 3]

**ARMY CHIEF ON TRIP**--The commander of the Zimbabwe National Army, Lieut-General Rex Nhongo, accompanied by Major-General J. B. Maseko and Brigadier E. Chan-yuka, will be leaving Zimbabwe on duty on April 2. Major-General Josiah Tung-amirayi has been appointed acting commander during his absence. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 27 Mar 82 p 1]

**ZUCCO SHIEF SACKED**--Mr Jairus Munyoro has taken over the leadership of the Zimbabwe United Chambers of Commerce from the former president, Mr Vera Mushananga, who was dismissed on Thursday. In a statement yesterday, Mr Munyoro said Mr Mushananga had been dismissed from his post and expelled from the organisation because he was recently declared insolvent by the High Court and so, was technically no longer a businessman. The removal of Mr Mushananga had Government backing, said Mr Munyoro. The decision was made at a general meeting of ZUCCO on Thursday in Salisbury. Mr Mushananga has denied he has been removed from office and said the proper procedure had not been followed. He said he would call an emergency meeting for April 28 to discuss the latest developments. Mr Munyoro said Mr Mushananga's place in the committee set up to unite ZUCCO with the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Zimbabwe (ACCOZ) and the Zimbabwe Chamber of Commerce (ZCC), will be taken by Professor Stanlake Samkange. ZUCCO's other representative on the committee, Mr John Lern, has been removed and replaced by Dr Sikhanyiso Ndlovu. Mr Lern was never a ZUCCO member and was handpicked by Mr Mushananga without consultation from the executive, said Mr Munyoro. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 27 Mar 82 p 1]

ZINATHA COUNCIL--The official formation of the Zimbabwe Traditional Healers' Association medical council is expected to be announced soon. The president of Zinatha, Professor Gordon Chavunduka, told a meeting of the association's Mashonaland branch in Highfield at the weekend that the legal steps to form the medical council had passed through Parliament and an announcement could be expected next month or early May. He said the council would consist of 12 members, seven of whom would be elected by the Ministry of Health and the rest by the association. Cases involving undisciplined n'angas would now be dealt with by the medical council, and not by the courts of law as was the case in the past, said Professor Chavunduka. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 30 Mar 82 p 4]

BIGGEST UNION--The newly formed Mine Workers' Union should be the largest affiliate of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions when the membership recruitment drive is completed in May, the union president Mr W. Gwekwerere, has said. After addressing thousands of Selukwe chrome miners, Mr Gwekwerere said he would visit miners throughout the country. Apart from recruiting members, the union president would explain the recent merger of the three former mining unions--the Associated Mine Workers' Union, the Zimbabwe Mine Workers' Union and the Mine Official Salaried Staff Association--with his union. He was impressed by the response he had received and said his union's target of 50 000 members would be passed when the exercise was completed in May. "The response has been tremendous and people are joining the union in great numbers. By the end of May, we should be the biggest union in the country. Already, we are the biggest contributors to the ZCTU." Mr Gwekwerere said he had discovered during his travels throughout the country that the common problems faced by the mining industry were poor housing and poor working conditions. He said he would take up the matter with the National Industrial Council. The merger of the unions should serve as an example to other splinter unions which still existed in the country, he said. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 27 Mar 82 p 7]

TOURISM IN 1981--Visitors spent more than \$32,6 million in Zimbabwe last year with about 40 percent of the total being spent by Zambians and South Africans. The latest Government statistics reveal that Zambia, with 141 796 visitors, was the largest source of tourists. There were 144 570 tourists from South Africa, Swaziland and Botswana. South Africans tended to stay longer and they spent slightly more, around \$7,3 million compared to the Zambians' \$6,5 million. The United Kingdom and Ireland were in third place with 24 505 tourists from these countries entering Zimbabwe and departing tourists having spent more than \$6 million. The grand total of tourists entering the country was 372 436 with another 10 000 or so in transit. The figure was the highest since 1972--the last year before the Chimurenga war entered its major phases. A total of 20 534 residents formally emigrated last year, 12 771 of them to South Africa. Malawi was the second most popular destination with 2 112 and Britain third with 1 793. Of the 7 794 immigrants, 1 688 of them were Zimbabwean citizens, 2 638 were British, 797 Zambians, 669 South Africans, 371 Malawians, 253 Indians and 204 Americans. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 27 Mar 82 p 3]



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